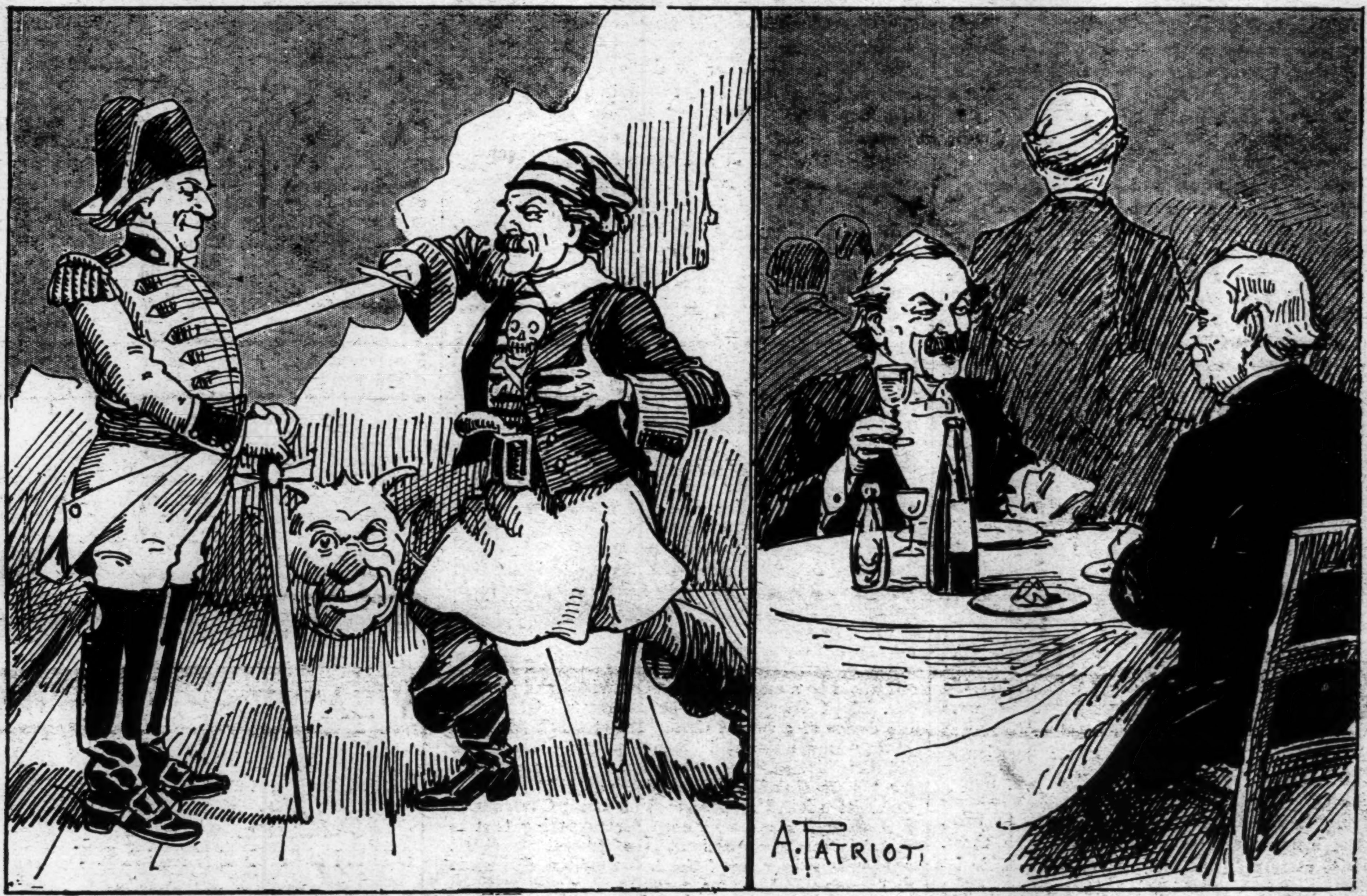
VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

VOL. VI. (New Series), No. 256. FRIDAY, JANUARY 31, 1913. Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free, 1½d.)

Library of Congress Periodical Division FEB 10 1913

THE PLAY—AND AFTER



NOVEMBER, 1911

Mr. Lloyd George *(Stage-manager and heavy tragedian, arranging with his colleague, Mr. Asquith, the famous duel scene in the Suffrage Melodrama at the Westminster Music Hall)*: **At this point I shall shout "For Honour and the Women!" and advance to the fight. We shall fight fiercely, but in the end you will pierce me through the heart and I shall fall dead. After that the curtain will drop and we will go and have supper together.**

JANUARY, 1913

And they went!

CONTENTS.

PAGE
Our Cartoon 249
The Outlook 250
A Moral Revolution. By Cicely Hamilton 251
Frances Willard 251
Mrs. Pethick Lawrence in Dublin 251
New Pledges for Old 252
Mrs. Drummond at the Gate. By Henry W. Nevinson 254
New Books 255
The New Pledge 256
PAGE
Battledore and Shuttlecock 257
The Working Women's Deputation 258
The Grey Amendment 259
The Speaker's Ruling 260
In the Police Courts 261
"Conscience Doth Make Cowards" 261
Non - Militants Demand a Government Measnre 262
The Press—After the Fiasco ... 262
Correspondence 263

DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

The past week has seen an extraordinary succession of events in the suffrage world. Every day, almost every hour, the situation has changed. The Government's pledge has broken down. The Woman Suffrage amendments and the whole Government's Franchise Bill have been swept away. A new and worthless pledge has been set up which has been rejected with unanimity by all the Suffrage Societies. And the week ends with a return to militancy and the arrest and imprisonment of Suffragists in London and elsewhere.

The Deputation to Cabinet Ministers

The ball was opened on Thursday in last week with the reception by Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Lloyd George, and other Cabinet Ministers of the Working Women's Deputation, headed by Mrs. Drummond. To these women Mr. Lloyd George repeated his faith in the "opportunity" provided by the Government's Franchise Bill, assured the deputation that the Bill had been drafted so as to be capable of amendment to include women, and denied the rumour that any Cabinet resignations would follow if any of these amendments were carried. Sir Edward Grey referred to the divergent views of Cabinet Ministers on Woman Suffrage, and after mentioning the possibility of procedure by private member's Bill, expressed his opinion that a better way was the one which was being adopted, of trying to incorporate Woman Suffrage into a Government Franchise Bill. The women declared themselves unsatisfied with these replies, and announced their intention of asking for a further interview if Woman Suffrage was not passed.

The Speaker's Ruling

On the afternoon of the same day a bombshell was cast into the situation by no less a person than the Speaker of the House of Commons. Questioned by Mr. Bonar Law as to the effect of Mr. Pease's amendment to the Franchise Bill, the Speaker declared that both as regards this and as regards the Woman Suffrage amendments, which would make a "huge difference" in the Bill, he would at a later stage have to consider carefully whether, if carried, they had not so materially altered the Bill that it would have to be withdrawn. This statement produced consternation in the House of Commons, for it was realised that if the Speaker adhered to this view, not merely would the discussion on the amendments have to be abandoned, but the Bill itself, shorn of the possibility of amendment, ought not to be proceeded with. An attempt was therefore made by Mr. Lloyd George to quote the case of 1884 against the view taken by the Speaker, and to this the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies subsequently added the precedent of 1867.

Friday's Debate

Meanwhile, on the same afternoon, Mr. Asquith moved and carried the guillotine resolutions with regard to the Bill, providing a day and a half for the discussion of Sir Edward Grey's amendment and a third of a day each for the discussion of each of the operative amendments. On the following afternoon (Friday) Mr. Lyttelton moved the Grey amendment to omit the word "male" from the first clause of the Bill. "You cannot," he said, "govern without knowledge, and you cannot be sure of knowledge without representation." Touching on militant methods, he said the agitation filled him with horror, not only on account of what had been done by the women, but also on account of "the brutal and cruel spirit, the utterly unchivalrous spirit," which it had been supposed to justify. While no statesman ought to yield to threats, every statesman ought to weigh any policy which had caused high-minded women, who had hitherto led blameless lives, to take such action and to face such ignominy and suffering. One of the features of the debate was the offensive speech of Mr. Lewis Harcourt, who came in later for a well-merited rebuke from Lord Hugh Cecil, who suggested that he appeared to be suffering from an extraordinary anger against women such as would be accounted for if he had just been spanked or had never got over the indignity of being born of a woman.

The Speaker Explains His Ruling

During the week-end two Cabinet Councils were held, at which the situation was carefully considered, and it was generally assumed that their decision would be to withdraw the Bill. On Monday afternoon the Speaker, pressed by Mr. Asquith for a more precise ruling, stated his views. The passage of any one of the operative Woman Suffrage amendments would, in his opinion, so alter the scope of the Franchise Bill as practically to create a new Bill. Under these circumstances the Bill would have to be withdrawn, and a new Bill would have to be introduced. He did not consider that the precedents of 1867 and 1884 applied to the present case, those Bills were definitely Bills for the enfranchisement of new categories of voters, and an additional category—viz., of women—could be introduced without altering their scope. The present Bill was principally a Bill for altering the registration laws, and such an alteration as the removal of the sex barrier was not a proper amendment.

The Government Discredited

It will be seen from this ruling that Mr. Asquith's precise pledge had been broken. He had definitely promised that the Franchise Bill should be so drafted that it would be capable of amendment so as to include women. It was not so drafted. It is quite useless to argue that Mr. Asquith and his Cabinet honestly thought that it was capable of amendment. The responsibility rested with them to decide the point beyond possibility of doubt. They were warned of the danger by the "Times." There was nothing to prevent them from putting a question to the Speaker publicly or privately, and the Speaker has indicated that he would not have withheld his opinion. This precaution they neglected to take, and the blame therefore rests entirely with them. They are utterly discredited, not only for their incompetent muddling, which has to a large extent recoiled on their own heads, but also for their criminal neglect in securing the confidence of women for a procedure that they made no adequate attempt to carry out.

Franchise Bill to be Dropped

Mr. Asquith's announcement as to the Cabinet intentions was made immediately after the Speaker's ruling. He stated that the discussion of the amendment had become unreal, and would not be proceeded with, and that the Franchise Bill would be dropped for the present session. By this he must not be taken to imply that it had been dropped for the present Parliament. When opportunity arose the question of electoral reform, including redistribution, would be dealt with by the present Government. So far as plural voting was concerned a Bill would be introduced next session. This announcement follows along the lines we have always anticipated, except as to the dropping of the Plural Voting Bill this session. Perhaps in very shame our prophecy could not be so exactly fulfilled, or was there some defect in the measure which had to be remedied?

The New Pledge as to Woman Suffrage

Mr. Asquith then stated that, as his pledge to women had been rendered incapable of fulfilment, he felt obliged to give a new pledge to take its place. There were only two alternatives. The first was that the Government should on their own account introduce a Bill to enfranchise women; that the Government would not do. The second, which the Government proposed to adopt, was that they should promise that full facilities as to time should be given during the session of 1913 to a private member's Bill, drawn so as to be capable of free amendment. Ministers and their supporters would be free individually to support or oppose this Bill at all its stages. In the event of the Bill being carried through the Commons and rejected by the Lords, the Government would undertake to give similar facilities to the Bill in succeeding years. He concluded with the astonishing assertion that he thought the House would agree that he had striven and had succeeded in giving effect, both in the letter and in the spirit, to every undertaking which the Government had given.

Our Views of It

In our leading article this week we deal fully with the question of this pledge; it is sufficient therefore to state here our view categorically with regard to it. By no stretch of words can it be said to be an equivalent of the pledge which has been broken and which has been extolled to women during the past fourteen months as the "great opportunity" for their enfranchisement. It is an attempt to return to the old Conciliation Bill pledge torpedoed by Mr. Lloyd George, but it is inferior to that pledge in many essential respects, especially in the all-important element of time. The new "opportunity" which it provides for the enfranchisement of women is merely a new trap set for their discomfiture; and even though we be forced to admit that the failure of Mr. Asquith's previous pledge was due to incompetence and not to bad faith, we cannot absolve him or his Cabinet of a breach of honour in asking women to accept in exchange this new undertaking.

The Debate in the House

Inside the House of Commons a different view was taken of the Prime Minister's statement by members of all parties with the exception of the Labour Party, who, through the mouths of Mr. Henderson and Mr. Keir Hardie, expressed their strong condemnation of the breach of faith which had been committed, and their demand for a Government measure for Woman Suffrage. If the Labour Party is prepared to fight by means of its votes in the House and outside for this procedure they certainly have the power to enforce their will, for though they are not numerically strong enough to defeat the Government on every division, yet by throwing their weight relentlessly in opposition they could bring about such a situation that the Government would not venture to oppose them.

A Cabinette to be formed

As the debate proceeded it became evident that Members of Parliament had in their mind the foundation of a kind of special committee, since referred to as "a Cabinette," on whom should rest the responsibility for drafting the Bill and seeing it through all its stages. Mr. Balfour said he supposed he himself would be a member of this Committee and perhaps Mr. Lloyd George would be chairman. Of course, the device of a special Committee of this kind is not in any way new; it is merely a new form of the old Conciliation Committee, which was responsible for the Conciliation Bill in 1910 and 1911. If that Committee failed then because of covert Government opposition, we see no reason for supposing that it will be more successful at the present juncture, particularly in view of the fact that the difficulties in its way will be in many respects far greater.

Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Lloyd George

One of the noticeable features of the debate was the very hasty conversion which had apparently been effected in the minds of Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Lloyd George. Only four days before, as we have seen, they had been extolling the plan of amendment to a Government measure as a better way than that of a private member's Bill, yet in their desire to prove the Government's new pledge superior to that which the Speaker's ruling had destroyed they did not hesitate to affirm on Monday that in their judgment procedure by private member's Bill presented a better chance of success to Suffragists than that by way of amendment, even if the Speaker had not intervened. Mr. Lloyd George had also conveniently forgotten his dates with regard to the Conciliation Bill, and allowed himself an explanation of his conduct in torpedoing it, which was not consistent with the facts of the situation.

Opinion of the Suffrage Societies

With a unanimous voice the Woman Suffrage societies, militant and non-militant, have rejected the offer which has been made to them by the Prime Minister; they have denounced his failure to give them an equivalent for the pledge which he has not kept, and they have called upon him to introduce without delay a Government measure. Failing compliance with this demand, they propose, each in their own way, to carry out an anti-Government policy. The decision of party women is not yet known, but it is understood that the Liberal women will be meeting in conference in the course of the next few days, when their policy will be determined on. A heavy responsibility rests upon them to do their duty at this crisis. If they are firm and uncompromising the Liberal Government will yield, because it could not face the country with the whole of organised Liberal womanhood against it. If in the attempt to be narrowly loyal to their party they weakly allow that party to be false to Liberalism, they will betray both their party and their sex.

The Militants

By the women of active and heroic temper the flag of revolt has once more been unfurled. On the same night that Mr. Asquith's worthless pledge was announced, Mrs. Despard was arrested on the steps of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields on the charge of obstructing the police. She had been ordered to abstain from addressing the crowd, and had refused to comply. Other members of the Women's Freedom League were arrested with her. Brought up at Bow Street next day (Tuesday), she refused to recognise the jurisdiction of the court to try her, and was sentenced to a fortnight's imprisonment in lieu of a fine, which she declined to pay. On Tuesday, in Dublin, three women were arrested for breaking twenty panes of glass in the windows of Dublin Castle, and were sentenced to one month's imprisonment with hard labour.

The W.S.P.U.

The demonstration of the Women's Social and Political Union was postponed until Tuesday evening, when Mrs. Drummond led a deputation of working women from the Horticultural Hall to demand a further interview at the House of Commons with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The interview was refused, and the women were treated with great violence by the police. Mrs. Drummond herself was knocked down and injured shortly after her emergence from the hall. Persisting, however, in her mission, she and a number of other women, including Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, were taken into custody. At the same time, many windows were broken, both in Government offices and in private shops, and for these actions a further number of women, including Mrs. Cobden Hirst, the well-known social worker and granddaughter of Richard Cobden, were taken into custody. Brought up at Bow Street on Wednesday, Mrs. Drummond was charged with obstruction and sentenced to fourteen days' in the second division; with the option of a fine.

Nurse Hutchinson, Miss Mary Grey, Miss Mary Pearson, and other members of her deputation, received the same sentence; they all elected to go to prison. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst applied for an adjournment, and was allowed bail, as she wished to take legal advice. Of the window-breakers, Miss Mary Neil was fined and ordered to pay the damage, or in default one month's imprisonment; Miss Margaret Macfarlane was similarly dealt with, or in default fourteen days'; Miss Margaret James was committed for trial. Other cases were dealt with after we went to press.

BURBERRY
WEATHERPROOF
DRESS

1912 Stock and Model Garments

HALF-PRICE
DURING FEBRUARY

The Burberry.

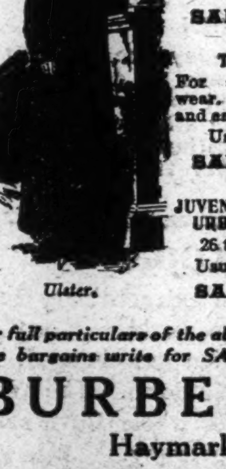
Gown.

GABARDINE BURBERRYS.
Extremely light-weight, easy-fitting, and air-free weatherproofs.
Light shades only.
Usual price 3, 3½, and 4 Gns.
SALE PRICE 45/-

TWEED BURBERRYS.
Delightfully warm, smart, and airylight. Artistic colourings.
Usual price 4 Gns.
SALE PRICE 42/-

Gown.

SEMI-FITTING ULSTERS.
Tweeds, part lined silk.
Usual price 6 Gns.
SALE PRICE 63/-


Ulster.

ULSTER BURBERRYS.
For travel, motoring, or walking. Many styles and a large assortment of materials.
Usual price 5 Gns.
SALE PRICE 52/6

TWEED GOWNS.
For sport and country wear. Graceful, becoming, and easy-fitting.
Usual price 8 Gns.
SALE PRICE 84/-

JUVENILE BURBERRY and URBITOR OVERCOATS.
26 to 32 inches chest.
Usual price 35/- to 50/-
SALE PRICE 21/-

Ulster Burberry.

For full particulars of the above and many other sale bargains write for SALE CATALOGUE.

BURBERRYS
Haymarket,
LONDON, S.W.

A MORAL REVOLUTION

By Cicely Hamilton

By the time that these lines are in print it may be that we shall have suffered a check and a jar; that, as far as the vote is concerned—the political enfranchisement of women—we shall have been once more rebuffed and repulsed. There has been a bolt from the blue; a sudden, amazing development. The fate of the Government's Franchise Bill is trembling in the balance; and, as I write, the balance seems to be trembling down and inclining to the wrong side.

In the day of discouragement and defeat it is wise to take stock of your mercies; to counteract the effect of a temporary loss by counting and overhauling your real and substantial gains. I propose, in this moment of annoyance, of justified anger and disgust, to reckon up our gains and our mercies.

I shall begin by admitting, of course, that we have not got the vote; that we may not get it this Session; that we may not get it this Parliament. This is tiresome—distinctly; both for us and for Cabinet Ministers. Against this failure—this passing, this temporary failure—you can set with contentment the fact that we have, in these last few years, not only established our own right to enter political life, but have shoved, pushed, and dragged into a measure of political existence that large and much-belauded section of the feminine community which lazily desires to have nothing at all to do with it. We have, in other words, brought about the formation and activities of the Anti-Suffrage League, which is nobly and gallantly (if unconsciously) continuing and extending our work of educating the future electorate, of interesting woman in the world outside her home—which is nobly and gallantly (if unconsciously) bestirring itself to abolish the traditional woman.

Own sister to the Suffrage leagues is a league that cries down Suffrage! Alike we draw the wife and mother from the seemly seclusion of her parlour or her scullery and address her in drawing-room or hall; alike we argue with her on matters that are public and politic; alike, in the sacred name of the cause, we wheedle shillings from her purse and from her pocket. Alike we deck her with buttons and furnish her with banners and ribbons. Alike we egg her on to make wild statements and stammer through bad speeches on a platform; alike we cause her to neglect her one-time simple sphere. Alike, in short, we teach her—sometimes wisely and sometimes foolishly—that woman is a creature not alone composed of sex. Thus, under differing standards, we march to the same grand goal; and the active, organised "anti" is not only an ally—she is a living, breathing testimony to the power and success of the active, organised Suffragist. She is a brand snatched from the burning in defiance of her own mad wishes; she is a convert unaware of her conversion.

Another point. Although, so far, we have not attained to complete political freedom—the actual possession of the vote—the growth, during the last few years, of our moral and intellectual freedom has been astounding and enormous. To take a particular instance—the Militant Suffrage Movement. If even ten years ago you had suggested to any well-brought-up young woman that it was possible, under the influence of enthusiasm, to smash Messrs. Whiteley's windows with a hammer or to push at a policeman who was trying to bar the road; if you had suggested this to her, if you had pointed out to her that the thing could actually be done, that well-brought-up young woman would have answered you with conviction that the thing was not possible; that it could not be done by her. Now, though she be an Anti-Suffragist, that well-brought-up young woman knows very differently. The boundaries have widened for her and for all of us—the moral and physical boundaries. Those amongst Suffragists who refrain from window-smashing and policeman-pushing refrain from various motives—because they think it wrong; because they think it silly; because they are afraid or can't spare time to spend a month in gaol. But they do not refrain as their mothers refrained and their aunts—on the score of its rank impossibility. The thing has been done.

Freedom, be it remembered, is responsibility, the power of making a choice—of making a wrong or a silly choice as well as a right and a noble one. Persons who have no power of making a choice—who do the right thing, not on their own responsibility, not on their own initiative, but because they are under the impression that they can't do anything else—may be comfortable, orderly, decent souls, but they certainly are not free. They are, of course, convenient and reliable neighbours and likely to give very little trouble to their surroundings, immediate or otherwise. Hence the predilection of dominant classes (or sexes) for depriving subordinate classes (or sexes) of the power of making a choice—the predilection, in other words, for depriving them of freedom. Hence, for countless generations, the attitude of man to woman; his habit of settling the particular virtues she should cultivate, the particular vices she should shun. The arrangement, of course, saved them both a lot of trouble; which is really the best that can be said for it. It was an arrangement that—like a good many other devices for saving trouble—was demoralising to both parties. Woman was saved from responsibility—which, if good for the soul, is a nuisance; and man settled with authority that she should say the sort of things and do the sort of things that he liked her to say and to do.

So it was for many generations; and so it is no more. We shall achieve the vote; meanwhile it should be a satisfaction to reflect that we have already achieved something like a moral revolution—that we have achieved a measure of freedom and shouldered a measure of responsibility. What we shall do with it, heaven only knows—use it well or abuse it badly—but there it is, and we have it because we have gained it. Our moral standard has altered amazingly in this last generation or so; our moral law is basing itself less and ever less on a man's dislikes and likings—is becoming less and ever less a matter of second-hand. Even if the vote were not yet—for a many long years yet—we should still have the right to cry victory on the ground that we have won. Something has emerged from the struggle that not even politicians can ignore—the woman's point of view and the woman's most human identity.

Our labour has not been wasted. We need have no fear of that.

FRANCES WILLARD*

It is fifteen years since Frances Willard died, and a generation is fast growing up to whom this great leader of women is but a name. Therefore, although much has been written of Frances Willard, it is quite a good thing to have this book by Mrs. Strachey. And not only because it helps to keep alive the memory of a brave and heroic person, but also because it deals with the rousing and awakening of women at the call of public duty in the nineteenth century. To read this biography is to glance back over the travelled road, note definitely the advance made, and be encouraged to further high adventures on the march. Lady Henry Somerset, in her Introduction, recalls the strength of the single motive-power in Frances Willard:—

"Here was a woman without social position and without fortune, who began life as a farmer's daughter in New England, who passed her girlhood on a Western prairie, who gave herself to an unpopular reform, but with this simple motive as the force of her life, attained to greatness such as few women have reached in this century. Her early career began with some brilliancy. Dean of the North-Western Female College, it seemed as though large purposes opened before her. But the direction was unlooked for. Her heart was claimed by the great social and religious movement of that day, and she renounced a successful profession to go out into an unpopular cause, without money or the assurance of success."

Very interesting is the account of Frances Willard's girlhood, and of the youthful sense that revolted against the disabilities of her sex. It was inevitable that when the Women's Christian Temperance Union was formed and Frances Willard became its leader, the need for political action should be urgent in her mind. Of course, there was trouble in the society when the party politicians were attacked, just as there had been trouble at the very outset when Frances Willard would move suffrage resolutions, and would not be satisfied till Women's Suffrage had a real place in the programme of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. "But Frank was never one to be cautious." With all her tolerance for weaker brethren, charity for traducers, and willingness and ability to work in a common cause with people of vastly different views on other matters, Frances Willard must needs "follow the gleam." The most precious gifts of courage and sympathy were hers, and she spent herself freely on behalf of her fellows. Temperance and Women's Suffrage did not end the list of Frances Willard's "causes." The oppressed coloured people of her own land, and the underpaid white folk of the wage-earning class throughout the world, claimed her as friend and champion.

Mrs. Strachey has done well to remind us how much we are all indebted to Frances Willard and her contemporaries for the work they wrought.

J. C.

---

* "Frances Willard: Her Life and Work." By Ray Strachey. With an introduction by Lady Henry Somerset. (Fisher Unwin. 5s. net.)

MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE IN DUBLIN

(By telegram from our Special Correspondent.)

On Tuesday Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mr. George Lansbury spoke at a crowded and enthusiastic meeting in the Sackville Hall, Dublin, arranged by the Irish Women's Franchise League. Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington, who presided, said that the policy of Irish Suffragettes must be war on the Government until it brought in a Government measure of Woman Suffrage or was driven from office. The first blow had been struck in Derry, the second, that day, in Dublin Castle. She called on the meeting to protest against the sentence of hard labour inflicted on the three Dublin Suffragettes, and announced that they would begin the hunger strike on Saturday if political rights were not conceded.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who was enthusiastically received and presented with a bouquet, dealt with votes for women as a great human question, the continuation of the battle for democratic liberty which had been going on for centuries. Not a hundred years ago four sections of the community were excluded from the franchise—working men, Jews, Catholics, and women, by reason of class, race, religion, and sex respectively. The first three disabilities had been removed, and women had rendered valuable help in removing them. It remained to put the coping-stone on the edifice of Liberty and open the way to democracy and social reform. The "prisoners of liberty" were fit to be reckoned with Pym, Hampden, and O'Connell. The reasoning against the enfranchisement of Irish Catholics had been just the same as that now brought against women—that Irishmen were too emotional, and that there were too many Irish Catholics. Peel said he would emancipate them if they were in a minority. She quoted Mr. Devlin's declarations in favour of votes for women and Sir Edward Carson's appeal to the women of Ulster to "protest against expulsion from the protection of the Imperial Parliament." When had the women of Ulster enjoyed that protection? Showing why the State needed women's votes and should urge the Suffrage on them, even if they did not want it, she said the things men were interested in—science, commerce, machinery, &c.—had all developed under the care of men. What were women interested in? (A voice—"Dress.") She was talking of the thinking men and women. There was a parallel to the women who were interested in dress in the men who were interested in the latest betting news. Thinking women were interested in human life, because they knew what it cost. There had been no development of human life proportionate to the development of material resources. Mrs. Lawrence then dealt in detail with the political situation created by the withdrawal of the Franchise Bill; showed how it justified the predictions of the militants, and how nothing but a Government measure could be accepted. The Government's new offer was far worse than that of 1910.

Mr. Lansbury said that the last time he spoke in Dublin was more than twenty years ago, when he brought a party from the East of London to show their sympathy with the Irish people in their struggle against coercion. He dealt mainly with the position of the Irish members, and in replies to interruptions about the "Hatchet," asked, "What about Phœnix Park?" It did not lie in the mouth of any Irishman to condemn militancy; they had always used whatever methods suited them. They were peaceful now only because they had the Government by the throat, and were making it do what they wanted. The militants had taken a leaf out of the Irish book. Dealing with the present situation, he said that he felt sure the Speaker would have found some other pretext for ruling out the amendment if this particular one had not been available. He had warned Suffragists in the House of these dangers months ago. If Mr. Lloyd George was in earnest he should come out of the Government.

Replying to a question as to "Dangers to Home Rule," Mr. Lansbury said that nothing would be more dangerous to Home Rule than the spectacle of Irish members working against the liberties of women. If this conduct were persisted in, there would be a great reaction in British feeling which would wreck Home Rule If the Labour Party did their duty, there would be no need for resignation. Mr. Lansbury was presented with an Irish travelling rug, "to protect him from the stormy weather he was accustomed to encounter." The enthusiasm of the meeting for militancy was marked, and was brought out all the more strikingly by the presence of a few interrupters of the "Danger to Home Rule" type, who were ably handled by the speakers.

NEW PLEDGES FOR OLD

Mr. Asquith's Statement in the House of Commons on Monday Last

IMPRESSIONS OF THE DEBATE

By F. W. Pethick Lawrence

It is never a very pleasant task for one who feels keenly upon a certain question, and who from close association with it has acquired an intimate knowledge of it in all its bearings, to be compelled to listen mute to a debate upon it in the House of Commons. The worthless arguments and shameless misstatements of fact on the part of opponents which are allowed to pass unchallenged, the indifferent championship which is accorded to it by many professing friends are alike provocative of indignation to which the forbidden opportunity of speech would alone give vent.

I have listened to many woman suffrage debates in the House of Commons, and my heart has always been heavy within me as I have heard the pompous utterances of men dealing with a question which meant nothing to them but an opportunity for speechifying.

The present occasion was certainly not wanting in dramatic interest. Woman suffrage had become of prime importance; for was it not, as Lord Robert Cecil pointed out, the cause of the destruction of a Government Bill? Again, the general level of the speeches was unusually high, and many really true and fine things were said. But there was the same shameless betrayal, and the same shameless acquiescence by all but a small minority of those who were present.

After a carefully prearranged duologue between Mr. Asquith and the Speaker, in which the latter explained the grounds on which his ruling was given, Mr. Asquith made his eagerly awaited announcement. The Franchise Bill would be withdrawn and the Plural Voting Bill would not be proceeded with that session. Then came the pledge with regard to woman suffrage. The Government would not give a Government measure; but in lieu of the promise which they could not carry out the Government would give facilities as to time for a private members' Bill, drawn so as to be capable of free amendment, next session. Ministers would be free to vote on it as they pleased. If the Bill were carried and rejected by the Lords, similar facilities would be given in subsequent sessions. This pledge, he declared, was a full equivalent for that which had failed.

A Refreshing Feature

Apart from the Prime Minister's own statement, the most interesting feature of the debate seemed to me to be the strong disapproval expressed by the Labour Party in the persons of Mr. Henderson and Mr. Keir Hardie. Both speakers, while accepting the Prime Minister's word that the catastrophe had come upon him as a surprise, found themselves unable to credit him with good faith in the pledge he gave with regard to the future. "I consider it a fresh trap to catch the women outside," said Mr. Keir Hardie. "I believe, however, that the long and bitter experience which they have had will teach them that if they walk into the trap this time they will do so with their eyes open, and that therefore they will refuse these proposals." No less emphatic was he when he asked what was left to women after this but militant action? Both the Labour speakers demanded a Government Bill for woman suffrage. Much as I appreciated the refreshing note of these speeches, I could not help wondering whether the Labour Party were really prepared to back up their criticism with their votes; for if instead of doing so they continue to keep the Coalition in power, they will be a hindrance and not a help to women who desire to force the hand of the Government.

Mr. Lloyd George's speech, in which he fiercely attacked Mr. Henderson, produced a very bad impression on my mind. He seemed to me to be aware he had a very bad case, and to be trying to make up for it by personal abuse. What could be more ridiculous, for instance, than this sentence?: "Speeches such as that of my hon. friend the member for Barnard Castle (Mr. Henderson) are far more fatal to the cause of the Bill than any Parliamentary trick I could ever imagine." His attempt to show that the Bill gained by not having the Government Whips in its favour was also too specious and too utterly absurd to carry conviction.

While referring to Mr. Lloyd George I ought also to mention his definite perversion of fact when taunted by Mr. Balfour with having torpedoed the Conciliation Bill. "I was referring in that phrase to a Bill which was so drafted as to be incapable of amendment," said Mr. Lloyd George. This will not do. The speech was made at Bath in November, 1911. The Bill that was so drafted as to be incapable of amendment had been dropped in 1910. The new Bill had been introduced early in 1911, and had been carried through the second reading, and it was for that Bill that facilities in 1912 had been promised. Then came Mr. Asquith's new pledge with regard to the Manhood Suffrage Bill, and Mr. Lloyd George's words were: "Now that the Conciliation Bill has been torpedoed the way is clear for a democratic amendment of the suffrage for women." Mr. Lloyd George cannot be allowed to misstate facts with impunity.

Sir Edward Grey's Admission

One of the most interesting speeches in the debate was that of Mr. Balfour, who expressed himself willing to be a member of the Committee that would help to draft the Suffrage Bill, and to assist in its passage through the House of Commons. He also elicited a number of additional points as to procedure from Sir Edward Grey, who made it clear that the Bill would not fail for want of time, and who indicated his opposition to extending the male franchise unless women were to be included. Another feature of Sir Edward Grey's speech was his admission that he had been wrong in the past in recommending an amendment to a Government Bill as a better way to obtain woman suffrage. He had not then foreseen the machinations which would occur. In listening to him, I could not help thinking, "Yes, that is all very well now it is too late, but your word of honour weighted with all your Parliamentary experience was allowed to outweigh our more correct views at the time, and the golden opportunity was accordingly lost."

Mr. F. E. Smith's defence of pledge-breaking was an eye-opener to those who do not realise the low level of House of Commons morality. "It is only in the last two or three years that anybody who has given a pledge on this question has really thought there was the slightest chance of a measure passing through this House and becoming law; no pledge given before that time matters at all," he said, and no one seemed shocked.

The best single utterance was that of Lord Robert Cecil, who, though he expressed his abhorrence of all law-breaking, exclaimed almost in spite of himself that if men had been treated as women have been treated, there would not have been militancy, but insurrection.

THE SPEAKER'S RULING

At the close of questions Mr. Asquith rose and asked the Speaker, with a view to the general convenience of the House, to express a definite opinion as to the effect which the passing of the woman suffrage amendments would have upon the Franchise Bill.

The Speaker, in the course of his reply, said:—If the amendments of which notice has been given by the Government, and one or two of the amendments designed to grant Woman Suffrage, were to be inserted in the Bill, my opinion is that under those circumstances the Bill would be substantially a new Bill. Therefore, in accordance with the practice of the House, it ought to be withdrawn and a fresh Bill ought to be introduced. I may leave aside for the moment as not being immediately pressing the question of the new amendments of which notice has been given by His Majesty's Government. The question I have to put to myself and have to answer now is whether, if any of the amendments designed to grant the suffrage to women were admitted, they would make so great a change in the Bill as to constitute it a new Bill. Let me take the amendments seriatim. With regard to the amendment to leave out the word "male," I suppose it is intended, as the right hon. gentleman said, to open the door to one or other of the amendments being proposed. If the Bill were amended by leaving out the word "male" and leaving in the word "person," it would not, in my judgment, make the difference intended. I understand that in all franchise Acts, the word "person" has always hitherto been held to mean "male person."

To come to the other three amendments I am told—though I have no means of verifying it myself—that the first amendment, if carried, would admit some eleven millions of women to the vote, that the second amendment would admit some six millions, and that the third amendment would probably admit one million to one million and a half. If that be so—and I am bound to accept those statements from persons who have authority to make them —I have formed the opinion that the admission of any one of those amendments would so alter the Bill as practically to convert it into a new Bill. Under those circumstances, I shall advise the House that the Bill be withdrawn, and that a motion should be made to ask leave to introduce a new Bill.

It has been suggested to me that in the Representation of the People Bills of 1867 and 1884, amendments designed for somewhat similar purposes were moved in Committee, and that no exception was taken to them. In regard to that, I would first of all take the technical point—and I admit it is only a technical point—that these amendments were not carried, were not inserted in the Bill, and that the Speaker of that day did not have the opportunity of considering the Bills with the amendments in them. Therefore, there is no strict precedent there. I would, however, take very much broader ground than that. I would say that the Representation of the People Bill, 1832, the Representation of the People Bill, 1867, and the Representation of the People Bill, 1884, were all designed, and purposely designed, to open the franchise to a large class, or many large classes, of the people of this country who, up to that moment, had not had the privilege of the franchise. Those Bills were, I say, purposely designed for that object.

The present Bill is not designed with any such object. The present Bill is limited in its scope; the chief object of it is to abolish plural voting, while the secondary object is to add rapidity to the system of registration. There are other minor objects and purposes. The effect, it is true, of those provisions may be very considerably to increase the electorate, but as the right hon. gentleman the President of the Board of Education pointed out very clearly last Thursday night, the Bill did not propose, and did not in fact add a new class, nor was it designed to add a new class to the electorate. If one of the Woman Suffrage amendments were to be inserted it would add to the electorate a very large class, and would establish an entirely new principle. In my judgment, leave to introduce the Bill did not contain that principle, and that principle was not assented to on Second Reading. Therefore, I am driven to the conclusion that the Bill dould, if altered by the insertion of a Woman Suffrage amendment, practically constitute a new Bill.

MR. ASQUITH'S STATEMENT

The Prime Minister said that, without wishing to criticise the Speaker's ruling, he felt it due to himself and the Government to say that it had come as a great surprise to them. The point had not escaped their attention, it had been deliberately considered; but they had come to the conclusion that, following the precedent of 1867 and 1884, it would be open to anybody on this measure to move an amendment to enfranchise women. The Government were under an obligation—he himself had given a distinct undertaking that when a Franchise Bill was introduced it should be in such a form as would admit of the discussion, and, if it was the opinion of the majority of the House, of the adoption of an amendment for the inclusion of women as well as men within its scope.

With that object, proceeded the Prime Minister, and solely with that object, we introduced into this Bill in the very forefront of its first clause an epithet which has never previously appeared in our franchise legislation—the word "male"—because it is well known that in franchise law, whatever may be the interpretation of the word "person" in any other department of jurisprudence, in franchise law it is always held to be confined to men, and men alone. By introducing the word "male" and putting it into the first line of the first clause, it was our honest intention to carry out the pledge we had given, and, as it were, to challenge in the most pointed way the decision of the House when the Bill came into Committee as to whether the Bill should or not be confined to one sex. And I think I am speaking within the general recollection of the House when I say that in the debates, both on the introduction of the Bill and upon the second reading of the Bill, it was universally assumed in all quarters of the House, by the opponents as well as by the advocates of woman suffrage, that when we reached the Committee stage it would be possible that full and free opportunity should be given for the discussion of this matter of woman suffrage in any of the various concrete forms in which the principle might be embodied. I am bound to say so much lest it should be suggested either that in this matter we have treated an important point of procedure with inadvertence and neglect; and still more lest it should be suggested that there has been anything in the nature of sharp practice.

The Franchise Bill to be Dropped

The Speaker's ruling, he continued, had come to him as a complete surprise; he thought in view of that ruling it would be a futile and otiose thing to prolong discussion upon the amendment. It would be an unreal discussion, and the result would not be accepted by either side. Further than this, in view of the fact that the Bill without the inclusion of woman suffrage was a Bill which would enfranchise about 2,000,000 additional men, it would not be acting up to the spirit of their obligations if they proceeded with the Bill when women could not be included in it. The Bill would therefore be dropped. That must not be taken as in any sense an abandonment upon their part of their intention to proceed, if and when opportunity offered, with electoral reform, including registration, and, what was not less, but, in his opinion, more important, redistribution. They thought it essential, so far as it might be within their power to deal effectively with the abuses of plural voting within the lifetime of the present Parliament.

Previous Pledges as to Woman Suffrage

Mr. Asquith then came to the question of woman suffrage, and reviewed his past promises, saying: I promised two things. I promised in the first place that if a private member introduced a Woman Suffrage Bill which then went by the name of the Conciliation Bill, that, provided its title was so framed as to admit of amendment—that is to say, to admit of other proposals, beyond the Conciliation proposals, for the extension of votes to women —we would give that Bill facilities. In other words, that we would devote to it an adequate amount of Government time, and if the House passed its second reading those facilities should extend to its subsequent stages. That was our first promise. It will be convenient to remind the House that that Bill was introduced by a private member at the beginning of this Session. We did give it the facilities we had promised. The House rejected it on the second reading, and there was an end of it, and, so far as that Bill was concerned, of our pledge in regard to it. We gave a further pledge, and it was that if for any reason, as indeed happened, the Bill introduced by a private member was either rejected or met with other mishap, we would in our own proposals with regard to suffrage, so far as we could, and we thought then we could do so, completely open the door to the amendment of these proposals at the will of the majority of the House to include women as well as men. We did that too; we fulfilled that honest intention in perfect good faith, and as we believed with complete security, we fulfilled the second as we did the first branch of the pledge we had given in this matter. We are now, it appears, disabled—I am not complaining or making any criticism—by the technical procedure of the House from completely carrying out the undertaking which in intention and spirit we had to perform. The question is, and it is a very serious question, what is, I will not say the law, because it is not a matter of law, but what in honour and good faith we ought to do to give effect to those intentions and those undertakings. One thing has been made quite clear by your ruling, Mr. Speaker, and it is that woman suffrage cannot, under our procedure, be introduced into any Bill the main and primary purpose of which is to enfranchise or enlarge the enfranchisement of the male electorate. If that is the purpose of the Bill, if that is its main object, no amendment can be introduced into it which would have the effect of enfranchising women without so fundamentally transforming its character that it would not be the Bill as introduced, and can be compelled to be withdrawn.

The New Pledge

That being the position, there are obviously two and only two possible courses to be taken. The first would be that the Government on its own account should introduce a Bill in terms enfranchising women. That the Government will not do for reasons which must be obvious, and upon which it is not necessary to enlarge. The alternative course and the only other course to pursue is this, and this is the course we propose to adopt—that is, to engage that in the next Session of Parliament, if a private member's Bill for the enfranchisement of women is introduced the Government will give it facilities, by which I mean an adequate share of their time for its reasonable discussion and amendment. It must be a Bill which corresponds to the conditions I laid down two years ago in regard to the Conciliation Bill, which is so framed that it does not exclude the possible amendment of any of the various proposals of enfranchisement, and it shall be a Bill in regard to which the members of the Government will be perfectly free and their supporters and everybody else to give their votes at every stage one way or the other. A Bill introduced under those conditions and provided with those facilities we should be perfectly prepared to supply with the same opportunities both as regards the time of its introduction and its second reading, and if it is carried in this House as regards its subsequent career—the same facilities as regards the expenditure of Government time as we are prepared to give to any controversial measures of the Government itself. As I have said, we retain individually and as a Government our complete freedom of action with regard to any such matters, and I believe that is the best way, and indeed the only practical way, by which we can effect to the undertakings we have given.

MR. BONAR LAW

Mr. Bonar Law said he could not profess to regret what had happened from the point of view of woman suffrage. In his belief the opportunity which Mr. Asquith held out next Session would be a fairer opportunity than would have been possible under those conditions. For the reason, that many of them who on general grounds might have supported woman suffrage would have been bound to vote against the third reading of the Franchise Bill. From that point of view there was no serious objection to the course which the right hon. gentleman suggested. On the general question the difficulty which had arisen was not only foreseen, but pointed out in some of the newspapers more than a year ago, and he really could not understand how any Government with the talent which they saw in front of them could have failed to make it perfectly certain that this difficulty should not arise.

THE LABOUR PARTY

Mr. A. Henderson said the Labour Party occupied an entirely different position from the other political parties. They were not at sixes and sevens on this question. It would be said, he thought, to their credit that they stood solid and united in favour of woman suffrage. It could be said of them as of no other party that the more women that were included in the Bill that was to be withdrawn, the more satisfied would they and those they represented have been. He wanted to turn attention to the statement of the Prime Minister. He believed that the right hon. gentleman had done his best to give effect to the pledge he had given; but in his statement as to the future intentions of the Government, he did not keep up to this standard.

The Foreign Secretary had said that the introduction of the Government Bill provided a better opportunity than woman suffrage had ever yet had of making real progress. Let them compare that with the statement of the Prime Minister of the intention of the Government to redeem that pledge by allowing a private member next Session the necessary time to introduce a Suffrage Bill. Was that a redemption of the pledge?

He could have understood it if the Prime Minister had said that the Government would afford time for the second reading of a Bill and that if it obtained a second reading their position would then be what it would have been if a suffrage amendment had been carried this week. In that case, it had been understood, they would take charge of the amended Bill in order to carry it into effect, but to ask that not only should a private member introduce a Bill and risk its second reading and all the progress that might be made during the Committee stage—(Ministerial cheers). He did not withdraw the word "progress." He was too well aware of what had been going on during the last three months. Cabinet Ministers had been busying themselves during the last six weeks more than he had ever known them to do in showing cordiality and friendship for every member supposed to be sufficiently weak-kneed to listen to the tales about the embarrassment of the Government. The new proposal was not a fulfilment of the previous pledge. If there had been a desire to give full effect to that pledge, it seemed to him that nothing short of the Government making itself responsible for a Bill to include women would meet the case. But if they did not go so far, the House had a right to expect that if it gave a second reading to a Bill of a private member which met the demands laid down by the Prime Minister, they should then assume charge of the Bill. (Mr. Asquith was understood to dissent.) All he would say in conclusion was that he failed to see that the pledge which had been hawked about the country, a pledge by which he believed the non-militants were kept quiet—(Cries of "Oh!"). He believed they had been kept quiet by it, for they had gone about the country saying they believed the Prime Minister was going to carry the pledge out in letter and in spirit. (Cries of "So he is," "No, he is not," and "Yes, he is.") The Government had been prepared to accept the responsibility of any amendment carried in Committee, and had said they would pass the Bill into law under the Parliament Act, and hon. members had a right to demand that if a private member's Bill received a second reading the Government should be responsible for its passage into law.

LORD ROBERT CECIL

Lord R. Cecil said that it was evident that woman suffrage was now of the first political importance. It had destroyed a Government Bill. The Colonial Secretary would do well to consider that fact very seriously, for it was not a matter for the treatment he had given it. He was not astonished that this method of dealing with the question had miscarried, for he had always said it would. He did not think any proposal which the Prime Minister regarded as a political mistake of a very disastrous character would ever reach the Statute-book, especially if one of the colleagues of the Prime Minister had the peculiar talents of the Colonial Secretary. (Laughter.) If it had got safely past this particular point it would have been wrecked sooner or later. He was glad they were to return to a more frank and candid system. The proposal of the Government was that a Bill should be introduced by those who believed in it, and who continued to believe in it. The difficulties in the way of a private member's Bill were very great, and he agreed with the hon. member for Barnard Castle that such a Bill would be exposed to subterranean currents which had their origin in the Whips' rooms. They must endeavour to ward those off. He attached enormous importance to the Bill being in charge of those who believed in it. The House should treat the subject fairly. If hon. members who had given pledges in favour of woman suffrage had changed their minds, in Heaven's name let them get up and say so. He preferred even the First Lord of the Admiralty to people who had given pledges, and apparently stuck to them, but would not come up to the scratch when the matter came to a division.

Militancy or Insurrection

It is all very well, Lord Robert Cecil continued, to denounce the militancy of militant women; conceive what any body of men would have done if they had been treated in the way women have been. It would not have been a casual outrage; it would have been an insurrection. You would certainly have had riots. It was the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster who pointed out that men under similar circumstances burnt down Nottingham Castle. I have said quite openly the spoiling of letters in letter-boxes and the breaking of windows are very regrettable and indefensible, but my objection to them is quite as much that they are utterly silly and futile. I disapprove of violence altogether; I hate lawlessness. But if you are to have it you must have it on the same scale as you have had it when men are suffering under serious political grievances. He was opposed to lawlessness, but holding that view as strongly as he did, he also held that they had no right to treat the women in the provocative and treacherous way in which the House had treated them. He had no doubt that the Prime Minister's pledge would give them an honest opportunity of settling this question. If that had not been his opinion, he would have told the women to reject the right hon. gentleman's offer, as they would have nothing whatever to hope for from this Parliament.

Pledge Breaking Defended

Mr. F. E. Smith, commenting on the remarks made by Lord Robert Cecil, said he regarded pledge-breaking as due to several causes; it was because these pledges were given partly in levity, partly in indifference, partly without any realisation that the issue was a living one, or was to be practically tested in the near future. It was only in the last two or three years that anybody who had given a pledge on this question had really thought there was the slightest chance of a measure passing through this House and becoming law. No pledge given before that time mattered at all.

Proceeding, Mr. Smith said: The question of woman suffrage was a very big one and cut across all parties. So far as I am aware, in the political history of this country, no great political issue against which strong antagonism had been felt has ever been successfully carried into law unless there was some party which was a homogeneous whole prepared to make itself responsible for it. The moment this issue is able to found itself upon a sufficient degree of popular support Ministers will be swept out of the way that will not make themselves responsible for it. Until the woman suffragists are able to provide themselves with a Ministry strong enough to gain and retain the support of the country they have no right to the support of the House of Commons.

He approved of the new proposals of the Prime Minister, but he would like to know who was to determine the form in which the proposal of the Bill for next Session was first brought forward, because it was quite obvious that the Parliamentary fortunes of the Bill might depend altogether upon the form. He would make a suggestion on that point. Let those who desired this change form a committee ,almost as if they were a Cabinet, and let them decide among themselves what scheme they intended to bring forward; then let those who were in favour of that scheme attempt to carry it through, and let those who were opposed to it resist it. That would, he thought, be an extremely convenient course, and it would test the real feeling of the House as nothing else would test it.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said he thought the remarks of the hon. member for Barnard Castle were among the least helpful they had heard. I cannot imagine, he proceeded, anything more untactful as well as ungrateful than his reference to the Liberal suffragists when he suggested that they were not prepared to vote for woman suffrage when the opportunity came. He has no right to say so. (Ministerial cheers.) If he will only look at the divisions he will find that the vast majority of the Liberal Party voted for every form of woman suffrage proposal that has ever been submitted to the House. And besides, if his object was not merely to damage the Liberal Party but to help the suffrage, I should have thought it was hardly the best method of approaching the question.

I quite agree that the proposals submitted by the Prime Minister offer the best method of obaining an unfettered and unprejudiced votes. No one who has watched the proceedings of the last few weeks can have imagined that we were going to have a clear issue upon woman suffrage. Having come to that conclusion, and especially after Mr. Speaker's ruling, there was no other course for the Government, having regard to the pledges given, except to withdraw the Bill and give a full and free opportunity to vote on that issue and that issue alone. Because when a private member's Bill is introduced there would be no other issue that could possibly affect the decision of the House. It cannot have any effect upon the life of the Government, or upon the position of any individual member of the Government. One thing is quite clear, you cannot, after the experience of the past few days, ask members of the Government to accept responsibility for a measure in which they profoundly disbelieve.

Chances of a Private Member's Bill

The hon. member for Barnard Castle says truly that it is more difficult for a private member to get a Bill through than for a Government. In the vast majority of cases it is time that defeats private members' measures. There the Government assist them by saying, We will give you as much time as is adequate to carry your Bill through.

An Hon. Member: In a second Session?

The Chancellor of the Exchequer: Certainly; the same facilities will be given in a second Session if the Bill is rejected elsewhere; and in the third Session also. That is exactly what the Prime Minister said when he spoke of subsequent Sessions. Therefore the difficulty with regard to time has been disposed of entirely.

The second point, he continued, was the difficulty of party discipline. As to this there was a compensating advantage in the present method, and that was the Unionist vote on the Bill would not be influenced by the knowledge that an adverse vote would give them a party advantage.

Referring to the Parliament Act, Mr. Lloyd George said that if necessary the Bill might be carried twice in this Parliament and again in the first session of the next.

My hon. friend the member for Barnard Castle, he proceeded, says we have to reckon with the vicissitudes of Parliamentary procedure, and to meet the tricky and devious practices which people engage in. Suffragists in the House of Commons must use such talents as they possess to overcome those machinations, and I think we are quite equal to that. (Laughter.) It is not that that I am afraid of so much as disunion amongst suffragists themselves. Speeches such as that of the hon. member are far more fatal to the cause of the Bill than any Parliamentary trick which I can imagine. Therefore I am convinced that this is far and away the best method of obtaining a clear issue; and I am perfectly certain that, having got the Speaker's ruling, it is the only method which is available for us to enable us to do so.

MR. BALFOUR

Mr. Balfour, in the course of his speech, said: There was an exchange of ideas between the right hon. gentleman and some hon. gentlemen below the gangway, in which something was said about machinations and defeating machinations in connection with woman suffrage. I must say I think that nobody is better qualified than the right hon. gentleman to talk of machinations in connection with woman suffrage. He has not only indulged in machinations himself, but he has had the indiscretion to boast of their success. (Laughter.) More cautious controversialists are usually anxious to avoid boasting. I think it was the right hon. gentleman who spoke of torpedoing the Conciliation Bill. If he had not torpedoed the Conciliation Bill we should have, as I understand it, exactly what he now wishes. He tells us he has for many weeks been a convert to the view that you can never get a fair issue upon a general Franchise Bill in which a woman suffrage amendment is introduced, or attempted to be introduced. It was he who compelled that course to be taken. He, and he only, by his machinations, prevented the question from coming before the House of Commons in a perfectly clear and specific form.

Mr. Lloyd George: I was referring in that phrase to the first Bill, which was incapable of amendment. The Conciliation Bill was capable of amendment, and I voted for it.

Mr. Balfour, proceeding, said he would accept the right hon. gentleman's history. Personally, he thought you could not mix up the question of woman suffrage with any other question, and therefore he was in favour of the course proposed, which he thought was most likely to give a clear issue. He wanted more information, however, particularly as to how much time would be given for adequate discussion on first and second readings and later stages.

Mr. Balfour to be on the Committee

Is the Prime Minister, said Mr. Balfour, who thinks woman suffrage a political mistake of a disastrous character, going to come down to propose a gag resolution? Is the Committee, of which I suppose I shall be a member—I do not know whether the right hon. gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer is going to be the chairman of the Committee — going to propose through his authoritative mouth a question of closure, gag by compartment, or any other of the modern expedients for hastening legislation? That evidently is a question to be answered.

Mr. Balfour concluded by saying he was entirely opposed to the idea that the Parliament Act should apply to a measure of this kind introduced by a private member. He thought it would provide a very dangerous precedent.

SIR EDWARD GREY

Sir Edward Grey, in replying to Mr. Balfour, said that so far as the question of the Parliament Act was concerned, the Government was bound by its pledges and in its endeavour to give an equivalent pledge to the one it had been unable to fulfil, it certainly could not in justice refuse to allow the Parliament Act to operate. As to the time to be allotted to the various stages, it would be effective time on the same principle as a Government Bill. If it failed to complete its journey through the House of Commons, the reason for that must not be want of time. As to the guillotine, while not stating it would be used, the Government were certainly not prepared in advance to debar members from its use. The House had some experience to guide them in the matter of time, for earlier in the session two days, which were found ample, had been allotted to the second reading of the Conciliation Bill.

I am convinced, Sir Edward Grey proceeded, after the experience that we have had, that it was a mistake to suppose that the attempt to put woman suffrage into a Government Bill was the way to give it the best chance. I had not forseen all the machinations of which the hon. member spoke, and it is to me, at any rate, a relief, and I believe is consistent with the best chances of the measure, that it should be treated as forming a separate measure, with all the privileges and facilities which I have indicated will be given.

It is felt that to put into a Government Bill something to which many members of the Government, and notably the Prime Minister, were opposed, was to create a situation which was very embarrassing. (Opposition cheers.) Some of us also are relieved, who hold opposite opinions, from the embarrassing situation of being obliged to support an extension of the suffrage to men without anything being done to remove the barrier to woman suffrage. Next Session woman suffrage will, I trust, be treated purely on its merits. There will be no question of embarrassing the Government if it is carried, but time will be allowed by the Government, and will not be grudged, though it may well be fixed. But there can be no question of embarrassing the Government or individual members of the Government before the Bill is passed, and I would most earnestly reinforce the appeal made earlier in the evening by the noble lord the member for Hitchin, that the House of Commons should bear in mind that its record in regard to woman suffrage has hitherto not been a good one. It has excited hopes again and again by passing the principle of the Bill on the second reading for many years past. It is not fair of the House to encourage those expectations. He hoped that the method proposed by the Government would enable the question to be treated on its merits, and would set at rest the view that it was being trifled with in the House of Commons.

MR. KEIR HARDIE

After a speech from Mr. Austen Chamberlain referring to the guillotine and the Parliament Act, Mr. Keir Hardie said it was absurd to suppose that a measure enfranchising women could become law without the power and the authority of the Government behind it. The speeches which had been made had shattered his good faith in the intentions of the Government. The promise made to the women was mere chaff to deceive the supporters of woman suffrage outside into the belief that the Government meant business when the Government knew it meant nothing of the sort. What were left to the women but militant tactics? If there was one fault to be found with the militant tactics it was that they had been too petty; he feared they would now become more serious, and would now be adopted not only by those who had adopted them before, but by the tens of thousands of Liberal women who had been betrayed.

The same man who was now saying the new pledge was better than the old had said the reverse only a few months before. The new plan was a trap. There was only one satisfactory way, and that was to make woman suffrage a Government measure.

After a few more speeches the closure was put and carried, and the motion that the order of the day be discharged was carried without opposition.

MRS. DRUMMOND AT THE GATE

By Henry W. Nevinson

By seven o'clock on Tuesday evening, the vast Horticultural Hall in Vincent Square was full, though not so overcrowded as at the great meeting of the Thursday before. Only women were admitted, except for the long row of reporters, among whom was one well-known war correspondent, my companion in campaigns of a different but not more vital kind. Outside, a day of wet fog had been followed by an evening of drizzle that turned into heavy rain later on. The police were drawn up in lines across all approaches from the Hall to the Houses of Parliament, and large crowds of the little shop-boys, corner-boys, drunkards, brothel-bullies, and others to whom the Government had proposed giving the vote, stood waiting in the slush to represent the public opinion on which the Government relies for support.

Inside, we sang the "Marseillaise," rebellion's universal anthem, and Dr. Ethel Smyth's "Women's March"—the only two songs that are endurable at such moments of crisis. As we sang Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Drummond mounted the platform alone. Both spoke very briefly. Mrs. Pankhurst simply reviewed the present situation, pointing out that Mr. Asquith and the rest of the Government had entirely withdrawn and frustrated the pledge repeated at intervals during the last five years, and most solemnly renewed in November, 1911. The whole thing, she said, had been a farce, a plot of organised deception, and the farce was being played out to the pre-concerted end. We were thrown back to exactly the same position as under the old Conciliation Bill, and here was the *Daily News* preparing a special Cabinet of all parties to arrange the next Private Members' Bill. That was simply the old Conciliation Committee over again. One thing was gained: all suffrage societies were now united in demanding a Government measure. But to the Government's deception our only answer could be militancy renewed. Already the Government had set about their course of coercion. At the mention of Mrs. Despard, that morning sentenced for speaking in Trafalgar Square, the whole audience cheered.

The correspondence between Mrs. Drummond and Mr. Lloyd George was then read, in which she asked him to fulfil his promise of publicly receiving the working women's deputation again when the suffrage amendments were disposed of. With the Government's characteristic contempt for its own promises, Mr. George now refused to receive them, and only offered a private interview with Mrs. Drummond next morning. That she naturally refused, replying that if he wanted a private interview he could come to call on her in Holloway.

After this final instance of Cabinet duplicity and Suffragette revolution, Mrs. Drummond spoke still more briefly, calling on the members of the deputation to follow her to the House in accordance with her demand to see Mr. Lloyd George at eight o'clock. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst told by what mere good fortune it was that, when throwing a stone at a window in the House the night before, she had struck the scene representing the members holding the Speaker in the chair at the time of the Great Rebellion. If members now had the courage to oust the Speaker from the chair, how different the situation would have been!

It was nearly eight already. By a rapid movement Mrs. Drummond left the hall at the side, only a few of the deputation accompanying her. She walked so fast along the side of Vincent Square that the mass of the audience had no time to get out of the doors and follow. In any case, few could have gone, for a crowd of police instantly pounced upon the little party and attempted to break it up. Pushing straight on, Mrs. Drummond, with about half a dozen supporters, turned into Rochester Row. When she came exactly opposite the doors of St. Stephen's Church, one of the most shameful scenes I have witnessed was enacted. The three policemen who were closely following her suddenly sprang upon her. The largest and most brutal of them seized her round the waist, as one "collars" a man in Rugby football, and, lifting her off her feet, dashed her violently upon the stone pavement.

There she lay moaning, stunned, and almost unconscious. For some minutes—about five minutes, I think—she lay there, unable to move. When I and others shouted shame and called the three policemen the infernal cowards they were, a sergeant tried to clear us away, and protested she had fallen by accident. It was no accident. She was deliberately lifted up and hurled upon the flagstones. Their capes covered the numbers of all the policemen; but it would be easy to give evidence against the three. There was not even the pretence of purpose in their brutality, nor the usual pretext of superior orders. Their orders evidently were to allow Mrs. Drummond to proceed to the gates of the House, and leave the force there to deal with her. The assault before she had gone two hundred yards was a mere piece of spiteful and violent savagery. Those who witnessed it will not forget.

After some minutes we raised her to her feet, and gradually the stunning effect of the crash passed off. Covered with mud, without her hat, and hardly able to walk for pain, still she went on. She was supported on one side by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, and on the other by a lady whom I know only by sight. From the back of the Army and Navy Stores we issued into Victoria Street, and there the little party again increased its pace, the crowd of onlookers growing larger, and the police forming in a thick band behind, so as to break up the rest of the deputation. So we moved quickly up the street. We passed Dean's Yard and the Abbey, and then, between the Beaconsfield statue and St. Margaret's we were confronted by a solid cordon of police, two deep.

Here I thought the usual end would come, the usual prolonged violence, and women battered and assaulted among the heaving crowds. But at an order from Superintendent Wells, who was in command on horseback, the cordon opened and allowed our small procession to pass through. I don't know how many we counted by that time; not more than twelve, I think. The women who were holding Mrs. Drummond up, still moved as rapidly as they could. We crossed the broad and empty road in front of Oliver Cromwell's statue (defiant of tyrannous authority), and rounding the corner came sharp up against the St. Stephen's door. From the pavement m front, right up the flight of steps to the inner gateway, it was packed with police.

Advancing between her supporters, Mrs. Drummond demanded entrance to visit Mr. Lloyd George in accordance with his promise. Inspector Rogers, who was there in charge, produced a letter repeating Mr. George's refusal, and offering only a private interview next day. In her fine Scottish accent, and with that voice which always seems to have a smile in it even at moments of the most violent crisis, Mrs. Drummond replied, "Now, Mr. Rogers, we are only a deputation of twenty or less, and we want to go quietly into the House. If you don't let us, there'll be trouble. Enough of this tom-foolery!"

The words were Cromwellian, but there was no company of musketeers to support them. The Speaker, who has played perhaps the most dastardly trick in our history, remained secure in his chair. Members, who have acquiesced in a Government's perfidy, continued their party debates unruffled in the enjoyment of incomes that women help to pay. The overwhelming force of their protectors advanced upon the little band of women, contending in vain for some share in justice and freedom. With violence they broke them up and isolated them one by one. At the foot of Cœur-de-Lion's statue (emblem of "Chivalry") they drove and hunted them up and down. It was a scene that would have appeared incredible seven years ago, but a Liberal Government's hatred of liberty has habituated us to it.

At last Superintendent Wells rode up, and ordered that if the deputation would not go away quietly they should be arrested without further violence. His orders were not obeyed. Two policemen seized Mrs. Drummond with violence and dragged her with brutal roughness along the pavement past the gates of Palace Yard. In vain she protested that she would walk quietly if only they ceased inflicting further pain upon her. They continued to drag her along like a drunken criminal. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was carried off in the same way. At the road across Westminster Bridge the crowd of Government supporters whom I have described—the shop-boys, bullies, tapsters, traffickers in women, and universal loafers, disappointed of their promised votes—received them with the yelling derision that is the coward's invariable tribute to the brave.

The prisoners of freedom who had thus in vain claimed the fulfilment of a promise deliberately made to them by one of the highest paid servants of the country, were lodged in Cannon Row until the Mother of Parliaments, which now is branded in the eyes of Europe as the model of perfidy, should be pleased to rise. Meantime, the crowd of Government supporters diverted themselves by hounding, chevying, and insulting every woman or girl who looked likely to be one of those that claim English constitutional liberty. Who can wonder that the paltriest specimens and vilest offscourings of our population treat women and honour thus when our Prime Minister is not only condoned but applauded by both sides in Parliament for his broken pledge, and our Colonial Secretary's diligently elaborated insults to womanhood are awaited by one Liberal journalist as "an intellectual treat," and appreciated by others as the acme of Parliamentary wit?

OTHER MILITANT EVENTS

Monday, January 27.

During Monday, January 27, the authorities at Scotland Yard drafted a force of constables to the number, it is stated, of 2,000, with 100 mounted officers, into Parliament Square as a precaution against any attempt at demonstration by the woman suffragists. "Literally," says the *Daily Telegraph*, "there were constables everywhere." Every available member of the police force was requisitioned, leave was stopped, and reserves were kept in readiness for emergencies at Cannon Row Police Station, Scotland Yard, Old Scotland Yard, in the Foreign Office quadrangle, and in Palace Yard. Cycle messengers were in waiting to call up extra men if necessary. From mid-day crowds of spectators began to gather in the vicinity of the House of Commons, where representatives of the principal Suffrage societies carried out poster parades, while the Actresses' Franchise League picketed the gateways of the House of Commons.

"Great consideration," says the *Morning Post*, "was shown to anyone belonging to the various associations working either for or against Woman Suffrage."

A Flock of Sheep

The mounted police kept the crowds moving in cheering, good-humoured masses, eager for any incident. "Presently," says the *Standard*, "an outburst of cheers signalised the approach of some presumably influential personages. As the crowd opened to make way the cordons of police were confronted by a flock of sheep bound for Grosvenor Road. The cordon opened for the sheep, and the animals once fairly inside the square gazed wistfully towards Big Ben, and made with one consent towards the Palace Yard gates, amid yells of laughter from the crowd, and derisive shouts of 'Enough sheep in the House already!'"

As night came on the crowd increased, and a number of youths tried to create disturbance by persistent yelling. At about 8.30 p.m. Superintendent Wells brought out a force of mounted men, who rode up Whitehall. It was noticed that the Liberal Party headquarters, as well as some business premises in the neighbourhood, were protected by wire screens or wooden barricades.

During the late evening, says the *Morning Post*, as earlier in the afternoon, a curious feature of the disturbance was the nervousness of the crowd. People appeared by their manner to suspect a revolver shot in the back-fire of a motor-'bus, and were continually on the alert for some manifestation of fresh tactics.

Meanwhile a great and enthusiastic meeting of the Women's Social and Political Union was being held in Holborn Hall, and the Women's Freedom League had a similar gathering in Caxton Hall, whence a number of women marched to Trafalgar Square, where at 9.30 they gathered, accompanied by the ringing of bells, in small groups; a dozen meetings were quickly in progress, and Mrs. Despard and three other suffragists were arrested. For an account of their appearance at Bow Street on Tuesday morning see page 261.

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst

In St. Stephen's Hall on Monday night, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst came into conflict with the police, but was released, no charge being preferred against her. As she was passing through the hall she threw a stone at one of the windows. The glass withstood the blow, and was not damaged. The picture, which has only recently been placed in the hall, was painted by Mr. Andrew Gow, R.A., and presented by the President and Council of the Royal Academy. It represents an incident which took place in the House of Commons on March 22, 1628-9, when Speaker Finch, who desired to adjourn the House in obedience to a message from the King, was forcibly held in the Chair by Rolles, Valentine, and others.

Tuesday, Jan. 28

An account of Mrs. Drummond's deputation to Mr. Lloyd George at the House of Commons on Tuesday evening is given in full by Mr. Nevinson on this page. While the deputation was proceeding to the House, a number of Government and other windows were broken in London. Most of the large shipping offices in Cockspur Street had taken the precaution to cover their plate-glass with boards as soon as darkness set in. The Hamburg-Amerika Company did not adopt this precaution, and at 8.55 four women stopped in front of the office and proceeded to pound the windows with lengths of iron piping. Before they could be stopped they had broken both windows, which were each glazed with a single sheet of thick glass, and which are valued at £100 each. A picture of the broken window appeared in Wednesday's *Daily Graphic* with the title, "The Penalty of Unpreparedness." The *Daily Chronicle* published the following list of broken windows:—

Home Office	4
Privy Council Office	2
Public Prosecutor's Office	1
Treasury	3
46, Parliament Street	2
Hamburg-Amerika offices, Cockspur Street	2
Liberty's, Regent Street	1
Dover Street Post Office	1
Gamage's	3

Marshall and Snelgrove's, Lloyd's, *Times* Book Club.

The *Chronicle* added that almost every shop in Regent Street, Oxford Street, Holborn, and throughout the West End generally which was not covered with shutters had a policeman guarding it.

The *Daily News* says that when a woman broke two large windows of the premises of Messrs. Marshall and Snelgrove, a number of passers-by seized her and said: "If you have got anything in your hands, drop it at once and run away." She dropped a hammer and succeeded in getting clear away.

Late on Tuesday evening, according to the press, pillar-boxes at Lee and Streatham were attacked, and a news agency stated that a letter addressed to Mr. George, which was found in a pillar-box in West London, was found to contain a glass tube filled with what is believed to have been sulphuric acid.

MILITANCY IN IRELAND

Mrs. Cousins, Mrs. Connery, and Mrs. Hoskins were arrested on Tuesday while breaking windows in the upper yard of Dublin Castle. Fifteen panes had been broken.

The suffragists were charged before Mr. Drury, at the Southern Police Court, with having broken glass to the value of a guinea. The constables who made the arrests said they found the women breaking the windows. Mrs. Cousins had an umbrella to which a lump of lead was attached.

Mrs. Cousins, in reply to the magistrate, said that what they had done was a protest against the treachery of the Government and of Mr. John Redmond. Like hundreds of other Irishwomen, she had been kept quiet by the promises of Mr. Asquith, Mr. Birrell, and others. They would pay no fines, give no bail, and all they asked was that they should be treated as political prisoners and as first-class misdemeanants. They were not ordinary prisoners, and they would fight to the very end.

Mrs. Connery said Irishwomen would show Mr. Redmond and his followers that they were not to be led by delusive promises.

Mr. Drury said he could not draw any distinction between one prisoner and another. The sentence was one month's hard labour each.

NEW BOOKS

A GREAT REBEL*

The fight for freedom makes the whole world kin. The personality of William the Silent, born centuries before his time in the terrible era of the Religious Wars, makes its appeal to every human being, but to none more directly than to those engaged in the great twentieth century struggle for the freedom of women. "He made no secret of his belief," says the author of this newest study of his character—

> that religious opinions should not subject men to persecution, that Cæsar had no business to interfere with the things that were God's. "It was his custom to say," writes Pontus Payen, a Catholic, "that in matters of religion God alone should inflict punishment."

It was this wonderful tolerance of his, as Mr. Squire is careful to point out, that differentiated him from others fighting on his side in the Netherlands, and from the ordinary type of religious reformer. "Averse from violence of thought as from violence of deed," writes Mr. Squire—

> he stands as the supreme type of the humane and tolerant man; and the depth and nobility of his religion enabled him, from political motives, to transfer himself from doctrinal camp to camp with just that ease that would be—and in the case of such men as Henry of Navarre, was—the result of a total lack of serious religious feeling.

In the same way, where others rebelled against the Spanish rule because "the pure stimulus of oppression induced almost automatically the pure impulse of physical retaliation," William, seeing things from every point of view, did not rebel until rebellion was inevitable, an attitude of mind that can be gathered from his "Apologie," written years afterwards, and demonstrating the necessity of armed resistance, "in order to guarantee that we shall not finally and for ever be overwhelmed and destroyed by an intolerable servitude and tyranny."

There are few makers of history more fascinating than this man who lived and died in the service of humanity and freedom, of whom one of his bitterest Catholic foes, Renan de France, wrote after his death:—

> Which Prince had besides this maxim: that one must never lose courage even in the midst of the greatest disasters and difficulties, but hold out and hope; affirming that these two courses had preserved him amid an infinity of adversities, and that the circumstances against which we are struggling should never bring us into such despair that we deem them to be without remedy."

Many parallels may be found in this volume between the fight against Spanish tyranny in the sixteenth century and the fight of the women to-day. There was the same cleavage in the ranks of the reformers, between the militant and the non-militant; the same difference of opinion over the militant deputation of the Leaguers to Margaret the Regent; the same determination on the part of the oppressor to belittle the uprising—Requesens, Philip's tool, insisted that "the Dutch rebellion had nothing to do with rebellion, and was the mere result of scheming by wily self-seeking demagogues"; the same valiant response to persecution—the day after a proclamation had been issued forbidding people to attend sermons at Antwerp, "went out of the towne to the sermone above xvi. thousand persons, all with their wepons in battal array"; the same attempt to crush the popularity of the reform movement by drowning "heretics" at midnight in cold tubs, "so as to be cheated of public martyrdom"! Is there a militant Suffragist who reads these lines who does not understand the admirable passage with which Mr. Squire closes the chapter called "The Spreading of the Flame"?—

> But there behind it all was the sea by which the Hollanders lived, a rough mother, but not careless of her children. And there was, too, that quenchless spirit of freedom and defiance which would rather a thousand deaths than humiliation and submission. And though the waters were flung upon the land and hunger and sword ravaged, though on that small people the burden of a great tribulation pressed for years with agonising weight, the light of liberty in Holland was never dimmed, and out of her pangs and extremities the Dutch Republic, a world's wonder, was born.

It would be easy to grow ecstatic over the study of a personality like that of William the Silent. Mr. Squire never does that. He keeps his values exactly right, and his book can be read with equal pleasure as a biography and as a chronicle of a tragic and human chapter of European history.

A LADY'S LETTER BAG

These late Georgian and early Victorian letters of a Yorkshire family† form two fascinating volumes. Opening the "Bag" at random, the following note makes us rub our eyes and wonder whether we are reading the modern society woman on the post-impressionists:—

> 1843.—This morning we are going to see the old pictures, which will be quite a relief after the glare of the others. Turner's are really too disgraceful, and quite an insult to the public. He must be mad.

And the politics are equally amusing to the Suffragist of to-day; Lady Elizabeth, busy at home with her children, while her husband goes to London to vote on the Reform Bill, calmly remarks that "the burnings in Norfolk are worse than ever," and thus criticises the House of Commons:—

> I, even I, actually read the debates for my amusement, they are so ineffably absurd. Poor little Lord John, ready to cry, quoting Johnson's Dictionary in his defence; Sir Charles Wetherell re-quoting Dr. Johnson's assertion that he believed "the devil was the first whig," and that vulgar Hume, in a rage, assuring them he "had *forgotten* more Latin than any of the honourable members had *ever learnt*." It really is too disgraceful to have both Houses of Parliament wrangling like a set of silly schoolboys at such a moment. They require some ladies to teach them dignity.

Then there are serious proposals for growing sugar-beet; stories of the wettest winter and the hottest summer; and the still more perpetual stories of the shameful neglect of the Navy and of the selling of commissions. Pepys told the same stories before; Kipling has told the same stories since, for "the thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done, is that which shall be done." With regard to one of the scandals of the selling of commissions by Mrs. Mary Anne Clarke, a mistress of the Duke of York, we are told:—

> During the progress of the inquiry, Mrs. Clarke appeared daily at the bar of the House, exquisitely dressed, witty, impudent, and answering the attacks of the cross-examiners with a cleverness and fund of smart repartee which completely foiled them.

So little did the House object to the appearance of a woman at the bar on this occasion, that on February 14, 1809, they sat till three in the morning examining Mrs. Clarke. They were a clever family these Spencer-Stanhopes, and the letters of the mother to the son, of the sisters to the brother, show a remarkably high standard of education as well as a very pretty wit; they are letters which deserved publication. John Spencer-Stanhope himself wielded a caustic pen upon occasion, his most noteworthy phrase being: "The great advantage of being of old family is that you are further removed from the rascal who founded it." The illustrations are numerous and excellent, but that of Queen Caroline is a curious antidote to the sentiment roused by Laurence Housman's "Pains and Penalties"—the face is so very coarse, the dress so terribly vulgar. We congratulate Mrs. Stirling on having concluded this interesting trilogy of memoirs, and hope her pen is already at work on further relations.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Israel Kalisch." By W. L. George. (London: Constable. Price 6s.)

"The Lords of the Devil's Paradise." By G. Sidney Paternoster. (London: Stanley Paul and Co. Price 5s. net.)

"The Young Citizen." Edited by Annie Besant. (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, India. Price 4d.)

"Flako" The Purest form of Soap
"Flako"
Regd
Soap in flakes
for fine fabrics
JOHN KNIGHT LTD
Use "FLAKO" for Fine Woollens and Flannels, Lace, Silks and Feathers, and all Fine Fabrics.
IT IS INVALUABLE AS A SHAMPOO, REFRESHING AND INVIGORATING IN THE BATH.

To be obtained in 1d. and 3d. packets from all Stores, Grocers, or Oilmen.

Send 1d. stamp to Dept. 'V.' for Free Sample.

JOHN KNIGHT, LTD.,
Soapmakers by Appointment to H.M. KING GEORGE V.
The Royal Primrose Soap Works, LONDON, E.

WILLIAM OWEN
WESTBOURNE GROVE, LONDON W.

IMPORTANT SALE
OF
Paris and Vienna Model Hand Made
LINGERIE.

Manufacturer's Stock of
Ladies' Underclothing

MODEL TEA GOWNS
and BLOUSES.

Unmade Robes and Tunics,
FOR DAY AND EVENING WEAR.

Ladies' Woollen Underwear,
Hosiery, Furs, and
KNITTED COATS,
ALSO
Lace & Swiss Curtains
CURTAIN NETS,
MADRAS MUSLINS.

Blankets, Down Quilts

CHINA and GLASS.

Carpets, Rugs & Linoleum.

SALE—Monday, Feb. 3,
Doors open First Day of Sale 9.30.
CATALOGUES ON APPLICATION.

WILLIAM OWEN Ld.
Westbourne Grove,
London, W.
The House Famous for Good Value.

---

* "William the Silent." By J. C. Squire. (Methuen. 10s. 6d. net.)

† The Letter Bag of Lady Elizabeth Spencer-Stanhope. By A. W. W. Stirling. (John Lane. Two vols. 32s. net.)

Articles and News contributed for insertion in VOTES FOR WOMEN should be sent to The Editors, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., at the earliest possible date, and in no case later than first post Monday morning prior to the publication of the paper.

The Editors cannot hold themselves in any way responsible for the return of unused manuscripts, though they will endeavour as far as possible to return them when requested if stamps for postage are enclosed. MSS. should, if possible, be typewritten.

THE SUFFRAGE CLUB,
3, YORK STREET,
St. James's, S.W.

The Board of Management have decided, in view of the very deep interest shown in the objects of the Club, to enrol a further 200 Founder Members at £1 1s. Subscription and no Entrance Fee.

EARLY APPLICATION ADVISABLE.

Members are notified that Table d'Hôte Lunch (1/6) and Dinner (2/-) are served daily. Application may now be made for bedroom accommodation.

The Club has been formed as a Social Club for

MEN AND WOMEN

interested in the Suffrage Movement.

CONSTANT LECTURES ARRANGED.

ARMOUR against CHILL

It is not necessary to be hot and "stuffy" in order to keep out chills and influenza.

JAEGER
Fine Pure Wool

(Tested in the Jaeger Laboratory)

keeps the body at its normal, healthy temperature.

What Jaeger pure wool will do for your health you may learn from Dr. Jaeger's "Health Culture," free by post, or given free at the Jaeger Agencies (look for the blue and green sign) in all principal towns.

LONDON DEPOTS:

126, Regent St., W.
30, Sloane St., S.W.
456, Strand, W.C.
115, Victoria St., S.W.
102, Kensington High St., W.
85 & 86, Cheapside, E.C.

Telephone: 822 Chiswick.

THE LAVENDER LAUNDRY

Strafford Road Acton, W.

We solicit the Custom of all who believe in supporting Women's labour, and who appreciate having their Linen washed in honest, wholesome fashion without the aid of chemicals.

Excellent Testimonials.
'Phone or write for Price List.
Our own Vans collect and deliver daily in London.
Special Department for Country orders.

OPPOSITE THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

THACKERAY HOTEL

Great Russell Street, London.

This large and well-appointed TEMPERANCE HOTEL has Passenger Lift, Electric Light throughout, Bathrooms on every floor, Spacious Dining, Drawing, Writing, Reading and Smoking Rooms. Fireproof Floors. Perfect Sanitation. Telephone. Night Porter.

Bedroom, Attendance, and Table d'Hote Breakfast, Single from 5s., 6s. to 8s. Table d'Hote Dinner, Six Courses, 3s.

Full Tariff and Testimonials on Application.

Telegraphic Address "Thackeray London."

2 Fine Novels for Suffragists

ELIZABETH ROBINS' **6s.**

Fearless and Powerful Work,

WHERE ARE YOU GOING TO?

Mrs. Zangwill in THE SUFFRAGETTE: "Miss Robins' book will help. It will be a weapon and a goad for every suffragist."
DAILY MAIL: "The strongest novel with a purpose we have seen these many years . . . . will stir public feeling to its depths on the gravest of all social questions."

V. GOLDIE'S **6s.**

New Suffragist Novel,

THE DECLENSION OF HENRY D'ALBIAC

STANDARD: "The first charming suffragist in fiction."
MANCHESTER GUARDIAN: "By far the best and liveliest of the suffragist stories we have come across."

Wm. Heinemann, 21, Bedford St., W.C.

VOTES FOR WOMEN

4-7, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET.

Telegraphic Address:—Votfowom, London.
Telephone:—Holborn 1305.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 31, 1913.

THE NEW PLEDGE

The "great opportunity" to be provided by the Manhood Suffrage Bill for the enfranchisement of women has proved to be "the great sham." All the optimistic prophecies with regard to it have tumbled to the ground. Every one of our forebodings have been proved by the event to have been literally true.

We stated from the first that it was a wholly impracticable proposition to attempt to effect the enfranchisement of women by means of a private member's amendment to a Bill for extending the male franchise. The Speaker has ruled that it is not merely impracticable, but contrary to the procedure of the House, and the Government which scouted our contention has been forced to bow to his ruling.

But this is not all. Quite apart from the question of impracticability, we stated that the alleged opportunity would fail, because members would vote not on the merits of Woman Suffrage but from party considerations. We were rebuked for our tenacity in holding to this belief by Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Lloyd George. But these statesmen admitted in the debate on Monday last that they had been mistaken. Sir Edward Grey's words were:—

> I am convinced, after the experience that we have had, that it was a mistake to suppose that the attempt to put woman suffrage into a Government Bill was the way to give it the best chance. I had not foreseen all the machinations of which the hon. member spoke.

And Mr. Lloyd George said:—

> No one who has watched the proceedings of the last few weeks can have imagined that we were going to have a clear issue upon woman suffrage.

It should be noticed that both these utterances were made quite independently of the question of the correctness of the ruling of the Speaker on the matter of procedure.

In the face of this discreditable failure on the part of the Government we are asked to accept a new pledge in the place of the one that has been broken; and Mr. Asquith, Sir Edward Grey, and Mr. Lloyd George are all prepared to assure us that we are the gainers by the exchange. This new pledge consists simply of facilities as to time during the session of 1913 for all stages of a private member's Bill for Woman Suffrage, framed so as to be capable of free amendment; with a proviso that if the Bill be carried in 1913 and thrown out by the House of Lords, similar facilities will be given by the Government in succeeding sessions.

In order to prove that this new pledge is a real reparation it is not enough (if the honour of Cabinet Ministers is to be sustained) to prove that it is at least equal to the worthless pledge which it has replaced, it must be shown to be equal to the value placed upon that pledge by Cabinet Ministers themselves. This cannot be done.

Two acts in the drama must be taken together into consideration. The first act of November, 1911, when the genuine opportunity provided by the Conciliation Bill was torpedoed to make way for the illusory promise of the Manhood Suffrage Bill; and the second act of Monday last, when for that unfulfilled promise the new pledge was substituted. At both stages the Cabinet in chorus have declared that an improvement has been effected.

If this were true the new pledge ought to be better than the opportunity provided by the Conciliation Bill; but such a proposition is demonstrably false. The Conciliation Bill possessed certain great merits. In the first place, it was both reasonable and moderate; and, coupled with the existing male franchise, it was so near to the logical solution of sex equality as to be substantially satisfactory. Secondly, it had been accepted by the great bulk of Suffragists in the House of Commons. Thirdly, it was promised facilities in the second session of Parliament, and would, therefore, by the operation of the Parliament Act, even in the event of opposition from the House of Lords, have enabled women to vote at the next General Election.

The new pledge for a private member's Bill is given after the electoral atmosphere has been completely disturbed by the Government's own franchise proposals. Secondly, by this very fact the unity among the suffrage M.P.'s has been shattered, and there is no reasonable prospect of cementing it again without the assistance of party Whips. Thirdly, an essential year has been lost, and consequently it will be too late to secure the effective operation of the Parliament Act if it is opposed by the House of Lords. In addition, after the intrigues of the last few weeks it is evident that there is no prospect of a free vote, for many members will cast their votes not on the merits of Woman Suffrage, but with a view to avoid embarrassing Mr. Asquith or disintegrating the Government. Who can doubt the inevitable result?

From the above reasoning it will be seen that we are confronted with a shameless attempt to substitute an inferior promise for that which by no fault of women has been broken. Such an attempt is an insult to the intelligence of women. It is too late in the day to ask Suffragists to pin their faith to a private member's Bill. They could not accept such a proposal without committing "a political mistake of a disastrous kind," for this method has already been tried and failed. The time has come when the Government, whether they like it or not, must make Woman Suffrage a definite plank in their party programme, and must without delay make themselves responsible as a Government for a Woman Suffrage Bill. This may sound a hard saying, but it is absolutely the only course that has the least prospect of success; nor does it necessarily involve the resignation of anti-suffrage Ministers. Where the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel have led the way, need Mr. Asquith and Mr. Harcourt refuse to follow? If they consented, after their lifelong opposition, to bring in a Bill for Catholic emanicipation, why should their modern counterparts insist upon remaining obdurate to the end?

With complete unanimity the Woman Suffrage Societies have rejected the Government's worthless offer, and have demanded instead a Government measure. Will the Liberal women take a similar course, and declare a political strike unless their demands are complied with? If they do this we are confident that they will speedily bring the Liberal Party to book. If they refuse, they are consenting parties to the degradation of their sex.

BATTLEDORE AND SHUTTLECOCK

Private Member's Bill or Amendment to a Government Measure?

A RECORD OF THE PLEDGES LIBERAL PREMIERS HAVE GIVEN TO WOMEN

At the present juncture the following record of the statements of Liberal Prime Ministers on the question of Woman Suffrage will be found useful to our readers. It will be seen that for the most part it consists of a game of battledore and shuttlecock between facilities for a private member's Bill and for amendments to a Government's franchise measure. Whichever method was the nearest to success at the moment was always withdrawn in favour of the other.

MR. GLADSTONE IN 1884

In 1884 a Franchise Bill was introduced into the House of Commons by the Liberal Prime Minister, the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. To this Bill Mr. Woodall moved the following amendment:—

For all purposes connected with, and having reference to, the right to vote at Parliamentary Elections words in this Act importing the masculine gender include women.

As a majority of the House were pledged to support Woman Suffrage it seemed likely that this amendment would be carried. This was prevented by Mr. Gladstone, who said:—

The question of women's enfranchisement was one which required to be thoroughly sifted to the bottom and which ought to be entirely dissociated from every notion of party and every element of political consideration. . . . He and his colleagues entertained the strongest conviction that it was not only not fit but unfitting in every sense of the word to attempt the enfranchisement of women by the introduction of a clause in Committee on the present Bill. They would disclaim all responsibility for the measure if the Hon. Member carried the motion he had in view.

He held out the inducement for members to break their pledges that when the question was "taken out of the vortex of political contention and strife" the supporters of his Government would be free to vote on it according to their convictions.

In consequence of this pronouncement 104 Members pledged to Woman Suffrage, including Mr. Morley (now Viscount Morley), voted against the amendment and secured its defeat.

In November of the same year a separate Bill for Woman Suffrage was introduced, and this is how Mr. Gladstone kept his promise to allow his supporters to follow their own convictions:—

He adjourned the House over the date, November 25, for which the second reading was put down, so that it could not be voted on at all!

For the next twenty years no important pronouncement was made on the question of Woman Suffrage.

SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN IN 1906

Shortly after the commencement of the work of the W.S.P.U. in London, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman consented to see a joint deputation of Suffrage Societies on May 19. He commenced by speaking as a supporter of Woman Suffrage, dwelling not only on the benefits which the franchise would confer upon women, but their enthusiasm for working for it, their fitness to exercise it, and the good work which they had already done in influencing public affairs. He then added this statement:—

That is where you and I aro all agreed. It has been very nice and pleasant hitherto, but with regard to the actual enactment of a Woman Suffrage Bill I have only one thing to paeach to you, and that is the virtue of patience.

In 1906 and 1907 the Woman Suffrage Bill was talked out in the House of Commons.

MR. ASQUITH IN 1908

In February, 1908, the Woman Suffrage Bill, introduced by Mr. Stanger, was carried through its second reading by 179, and Mr. Asquith was approached by a deputation of Liberal M.P.'s on May 20, who asked him to give facilities for the passage of the Bill into law. Mr. Asquith replied to the following effect:—

Facilities could not be given during 1908 for the passage of Mr. Stanger's Bill.

Barring accidents, he regarded it as a duty—indeed, a binding obligation on the Government—before the present Parliament came to an end to bring in an Electoral Reform Bill. This being the intention of the Government, it would be open to Woman Suffragists to effect the enfranchisement of women by means of an amendment. Such an amendment the Government would not oppose, provided (1) it was on democratic lines, and (2) that it had strong and undivided support of the women of the country as well as the present electorate.

Subsequently questioned as to by what means he proposed to ascertain whether the proposal had behind it the support of the women of the country, Mr. Asquith replied:—

There are a variety of ways in which opinion may be expressed. It is not for me to say which way is likely to be most effective.

Asked whether a Woman Suffrage amendment to the proposed Government Bill would, if carried, then become part of the Government policy in relation to the franchise, Mr. Asquith replied:—

My hon. friend has asked me a contingent question with regard to a remote and speculative future.

MR. ASQUITH IN 1909

There was no Woman Suffrage Bill before the House of Commons in 1909, and at the end of the year Mr. Asquith called upon the King to dissolve Parliament. Having failed to carry out the intention announced in the previous year of introducing an Electoral Reform Bill, Mr. Asquith made a statement at the Albert Hall with regard to the policy which he proposed to adopt if returned to power:—

Nearly two years ago I declared on behalf of the present Government, that, in the event of our bringing in a Reform Bill, we should make the question of suffrage for women an open one for the House of Commons to decide. My declaration survives the General Election, and this cause, so far as the Government is concerned, shall be no worse off in the new Parliament than it would have been in the old.

Mr. Asquith's promise of 1908 having proved worthless, the W.S.P.U. were not enamoured of this repetition.

MR. ASQUITH IN 1910

In 1910 the Conciliation Committee was formed and the first Conciliation Bill was introduced. Time was asked for its discussion, and Mr. Asquith made the following statement:—

The Government have considered this matter, and recognise that the circumstances of the case are exceptional, from the fact that under the conditions which govern pirvate members' proposals the House of Commons has never had an adequate opportunity of discussing so momentous a change. They are, therefore, prepared to give time, before the close of the session, for a full debate and a division on the second reading of the Bill which has been introduced. In view of the exigencies of other Parliamentary business, and their own announced decision not to prosecute contentious legislation, they cannot afford any further facilities to the Bill this session. The Government recognise that the House ought to have opportunities, if that is their deliberate desire, for effectively dealing with the whole question, and the course of the debate may be expected to throw instructive light on Parliamentary opinion both in regard to this Bill and to other proposals.

The second reading debate took place in the House of Commons on July 11 and 12, and resulted in a majority of 145 in favour of the Bill. Mr. Asquith, however, refused to grant further time. On November 18 he announced the dissolution of Parliament, and on November 22 made the following statement:—

The Government will, if they are still in power, give facilities in the next Parliament for effectively proceeding with a Bill which is so framed as to admit of free amendment.

This statement was rejected by the W.S.P.U. as worthless.

MR. ASQUITH IN MAY AND JUNE, 1911

The second Conciliation Bill was introduced in 1911, and was carried through second reading by a majority of 167.

In reply to a question asking for further facilities Mr. Lloyd George on behalf of Mr. Asquith, said:—

The Cabinet have now given the matter their most careful consideration, and they have come to the conclusion that the Government proposals for legislation will, if they are to be adequately discussed, fully occupy a prolonged session, and that, without jeopardising the fortunes of these measures, they could not allot to the Woman Suffrage Bill this year such an amount of time as its importance demands. They will be prepared next session, when the Bill has been again read a second time, either as the result of obtaining a good place in the ballot, or (if that does not happen) by the grant of a Government day for the purpose, to give a week (which they understand to be the time suggested as reasonable by the promoters) for its further stages.

Mr. Asquith subsequently explained this announcement as follows:—

"The week" offered will be interpreted with reasonable elasticity. The Government will interpose no obstacle to a proper use of the closure, and if the Bill gets through Committee in the time proposed, the extra days required for report and third reading would not be refused.

The Government, though divided in opinion on the merits of the Bill, are unanimous in their determination to give effect not only in the letter but in the spirit to the promise in regard to facilities which I made on their behalf before the last General Election.

In a subsequent letter to Lord Lytton, Mr. Asquith wrote:—

I have no hesitation in saying that the promises made by, and on behalf of, the Government in regard to giving facilities for the "Conciliation Bill," will be strictly adhered to, both in letter and in spirit.

MR. ASQUITH IN NOVEMBER, 1911

In November, 1911, the situation was changed anew by an announcement made by Mr. Asquith to a deputation of the People Suffrage Federation of his intention to introduce a Manhood Suffrage Bill in the next Session. In reference to this he received a deputation of women belonging to the different Suffrage Societies on November 17, and stated to them his intentions. These were, firstly, that the promise as to time for the Conciliation Bill still held good. As to the Franchise Bill, his statement took the form of an answer to certain questions submitted by Mrs. Fawcett:—

"Is it the intention of the Government that the Reform Bill shall go through all its stages in 1912?" Certainly it is our intention. We hope to carry it through in that year. "Will the Bill be drafted in such a way as to admit of any amendments introducing women on other terms than men?" Certainly. "Will the Government undertake not to oppose those amendments?" Certainly. The Government, as a Government, is prepared to leave the matter to the House of Commons. "Will the Government regard any amendment enfranchising women which is carried as an integral part of the Bill and defend it in all its stages?" Certainly.

In view of the complete readjustment of the franchise laws involved in the Government's Franchise Bill it was felt that the Conciliation Bill had become an anachronism, and little further interest in it was taken. Mr. Lloyd George expressed this idea at Bath by saying that the Conciliation Bill had been torpedoed, and it was subsequently defeated on second reading in the House by 14 votes in March, 1912. Interest centred in the amendments to the Government's Franchise Bill.

These have now been rendered impossible by the Speaker's ruling; and the new pledge of the Prime Minister has once more put back the question to a private member's Bill.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Colours: Purple, White, and Green

All members of the Fellowship are asked to make special efforts during the present crisis to extend the sale of the paper. It is of the first importance that the public should take a clear view of the political situation as it has developed since last week, and VOTES FOR WOMEN will help them to form that view. Members can co-operate by (1) selling the paper themselves; (2) obtaining new members of the Fellowship who will also sell the paper; (3) buying extra copies and sending them to people who do not yet know the paper, thus creating new readers and widening the paper's sphere of influence; (4) subscribing towards a fund for sending it on occasions to Members of Parliament; (5) getting the poster displayed by newsagents or others, at railway bookstalls, at street corners, and so on.

The Woman Suffrage movement has never been more alive with interest than at the present moment. To build up and consolidate a great weight of public opinion at the back of all the effort that is being put forth by militants and non-militants alike is a great work and worth doing. Every member of the Fellowship and every reader of VOTES FOR WOMEN can help in this work. All communications to be sent to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, VOTES FOR WOMEN Office, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C. Papers can be obtained at the same address, or from local newsagents.

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(To January 28th, 1913.)

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	139	12	1	E. A. F....................	0	1	0
Mrs. Rebecca Webb.	5	5	0	Miss Dorothy Marriott	0	5	0
"From Two Friends"	0	5	0	Mrs. Anderson	0	10	3
"Instead of Christmas Gifts"	0	12	3	Mrs. Robert-Tornow	1	0	0
Mrs. Walker	1	5	0	Miss K. C. Mukerjee	0	5	6
"Extra on VOTES per Mrs. Baker"...	0	1	9	Total..................	149	2	4

THE WORKING WOMEN'S DEPUTATION

AN IMPRESSION

By Beatrice Harraden

All of us are feeling proud of the Working Women's Deputation. Fishwives, pitbrow lassies, weavers, tailoresses, pen-workers, upholstresses, tinplate girls, laundresses, charwomen, rope-makers, shop assistants, nurses, teachers, and sweated workers of all descriptions from the East End have joined hands, and pressed forward to demand their rights of citizenship, by means of which alone their many and grievous wrongs and injustices can be remedied. It has been most splendid and sporting of them to come up to London from all parts of the country, but, as the tin-plate worker from Wales said, "They were determined to come whether they got killed or what!"

Well, they have not got killed; but they have done some killing which has been of inestimable service to the woman movement. They have killed for ever the convenient fiction that the demand for the vote is confined to a small section of the leisured and well-to-do. And they mean business, these beloved and gallant working women. They are not going to stand any nonsense. Not they.

"Firm's the word," thought I, when the fish-wife, Mrs. King, calm, impressive, and rather stern, got up and confronted the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and firm, too, was the clever little laundress, for all her sprightly rallying; and firm the East End sweated worker who told a grim tale of poverty and struggle with a husband ill for many years from tuberculosis. Then the pit-brow lassie, in her big pink sun-bonnet, worn over the shawl on her head, asked on behalf of her comrades for protection of their calling, which had very nearly been wrested from them. Quietly determined she too looked as she faced Mr. Lloyd George; and when she danced a clog-dance for us afterwards at Lincoln's Inn House it was difficult to believe that she was the stern little lady who had addressed the Cabinet Minister in terms of telling earnestness.

Then there was a masterly address from Miss Bonwick, the representative of the teachers, and a most interesting testimony from Miss Bradley, on behalf of the shop assistants, whose case was a most unfair and unjust one, which could only be remedied by fresh legislation, other than the Shops Act. I wished we could have heard more on this subject, for there is no doubt that the girls come off shamefully under the living-in system.

Nurse Townend spoke for the nurses, and Mrs. Cohen for the tailoresses of Leeds. Leeds, she said, was known to be one of the most immoral cities of England, and the reason was that the young girls were literally driven on to the streets for their livelihood in times of slackness, when no work was forthcoming. She spoke of the haunted look on their faces as they began to realise the path they were destined to tread. She made a deep impression on Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues. But all the speakers, each in her own wonderful way, impressed them—without any doubt. For the women were truly wonderful; and when one remembers that most of them had never spoken before, all one can say is that here was a living instance and illustration of what women are capable of, even without favouring circumstances. When I think of some of the speeches which I have had the disadvantage of hearing at literary functions, I can truly assert that most of the orators would compare lamentably badly with the women of this Working Deputation.

Another thing struck me, too, as I sat, like a trap-door spider, surveying the historic scene. It was this. The women impressed the statesmen, but the statesmen did not in the least impress the women! The imposing phalanx of Mr. Lloyd George, Sir John Simon, Sir Rufus Isaacs, Sir Edward Grey, Dr. Macnamara, and others, evidently caused no perturbation in the minds of these women who knew their bitter wrongs, and armed in the "enchanted armour" of a just cause, had come fearlessly to state facts and demand redress. Their calm fearlessness, absence of all self-consciousness, and true dignity, will be for me an abiding memory and lesson.

And now about Miss Kenney and Mrs. Drummond. Miss Kenney spoke frank words of criticism of the value of the Prime Minister's pledge which called forth remonstrance from the Chancellor and his phalanx. Events have proved that she was only too right, and the courage she displayed was—well, what we might expect from that Lancashire stalwart. She, of course, upset the tea-tray—a feat she deliberately intended, knowing that Mrs. Drummond would pick up the cups, put cream and sugar in them, and hand them to the "great ones of the universe," with her irresistible good humour. This was what did happen.

And when the Chancellor, appeased and refreshed, rose to reply, he said that no doubt Miss Kenney had not meant all she had said, and he proceeded to discourse on militancy, having previously admonished Mrs. Norton of Bradford for alluding to that sore subject. He was called to order by the General! She called him several times to order!

Most admirable was the General. It would be impossible in the annals of history to find a better leader or a better deputation. And it will always be an immense satisfaction to remember that before the eve of the battle it was the militants who sent a peaceful company of women to the Treasury to lay their case before the Cabinet Ministers, and to demand a Government measure for the enfranchisement of their sex—a demand in which all the Suffrage Societies are at length uniting—even at the eleventh hour.

On Thursday, January 23, at 10.30 a.m., the Chancellor of the Exchequer, joined later by the Foreign Secretary, received a deputation of twenty working-women, led by Mrs. Drummond, and organised by the Women's Social and Political Union. They were delegates from all parts of the country, from London to the North of Scotland, and represented many branches of women's work—nurses in uniform, Newhaven fishwives in brightly-coloured shawls and striped skirts, and Lancashire weavers in clogs and shawls.

Mrs. Drummond, having briefly introduced the deputation, eleven members of it made short speeches, in turn, each putting the case of the workers she represented. Miss Annie Kenney followed with a speech referring to the political situation, and Mrs. Drummond admirably closed the case for the women in a speech ending with the words, "Now, clear your character, Mr. Lloyd George!"

POINTS FROM THE SPEECHES

Miss Bonwick (Headmistress):—We find the Government controls the women teachers right through their professional career. . . . We feel also at the present time our children are brought up with the idea that the State regards sex as a more important qualification for any Bill of a Government than either education or moral character, and that has a bad influence.

Sister Townend (Nurse):—I have come to represent a large body of working women whose hours are longer than those of any male worker; for what man would continue working at a rate of eighty-eight hours a week, that week consisting of seven days, there being no difference made on Sunday? . . . You will doubtless remind me of the dangers of the pit workers, but I will ask you to remember that our work amongst the sick, both at home and at the front in time of war, is attended by constant and serious dangers. Scarcely a nurse goes through her training without contracting illness of some kind. . . . For years nurses have been struggling to obtain State Registration to protect our status by enabling us to keep up a decent standard of wages and to prevent incompetent and untrained persons imposing on the public and taking our work; but now we see plainly that we cannot get this until women are enfranchised.

Mrs. Wood (Sweated Worker of Bow and Bromley):—I have a sick husband. I do some work, but through the Insurance Act—they will not pay their Insurance contribution—I have lost that. Then I got a machine, and I could not earn fifteen pence a day. I earn about 6s. a week, and I have to find my own cotton and gas light.

Mrs. Bigwood (East End Factory Worker): I do not think it fair for women to have to work from 8.30 in the morning till 6.30 at night for 8s. a week. Then I know there are many in the East End who have to leave home and go to work in the City of London for 5s. a week, on which they have to keep up an appearance.

Mrs. Hawkins (Leicester Boot and Shoe Trade):—There are many thousands of women workers in the boot trade in Leicester. . . . Conditions are very hard indeed for women. They do the same work as men, from 8 in the morning till 6.30 at night; girls leaving school have to put in the same hours for 5s. a week. But the women's wages are very much less than the men's.

Mrs. Brown (Laundry):—They work twelve hours a day for 3s. 6d. to 5s. a week—those in the steam laundry. There are girls from fourteen to sixteen. Hand-workers are really worse off, because we have to work all day long at ironing. We have to iron shirts for a penny—just think of that, you gentlemen, having your shirts ironed for a penny. Then we have to iron a dozen collars for 2d. . . . The average earnings a week would be 8s. for a week of twelve hours a day. We do not as a rule go in until Tuesday morning; in some places it is not till Wednesday; then we have to work on Saturday evenings.

Miss Bradley (Shop Assistant):—The old cry is "A man has a wife and children to keep." Go into any West End store and talk to the women. Ask married women—many will tell you that they have invalid husbands; others will tell you that their husbands do not earn sufficient money; and others that their husbands have neglected them. Therefore it is absurd to tell them that woman's place is the home.

Mrs. King (A Newhaven Fishwife):—I have travelled 400 miles on behalf of hundreds of fishwomen. . . . Sometimes the woman has to work much harder than the man, because when the man's work is done he goes to bed, but we have to go out and sell fish. We have to get up at 5 o'clock in the morning, and sometimes we are not home till 6 o'clock at night. Then we have our household duties, and sometimes it is 12 o'clock before we get to bed. . . . Gentlemen, you have made a promise, and see that you keep it and grant us the vote, and I will take it home to Scotland!

Mrs. Ashworth (Textile Worker):—I have worked myself in a cotton mill for twenty years, and for fifteen years since I was married. . . . Last year, Mrs. Harcourt was speaking to the women, and, I understand, told them that while we have not got the vote we can influence our men how to vote. Surely, if we are capable of influencing men how to vote, you must think we are more capable of voting than the men (laughter).

Mrs. Norton (Bradford Weaver):—I have been a worker ever since I was eight years old, and I have brought four sons into the world. They are all men now. When I had my first boy and the others, I had to go back to the mill in order to bring them up as a mother ought to. . . . I had to go home at 5.45 and do my own washing, baking and ironing; and probably, three or four times a week, it would be ten, eleven, twelve and one in the morning before I had done, and I had to be up the next morning at 5.30 and go to my work again at 6.30. . . . I have also a message from the Bradford Weavers to tell you this: "That if the vote is not given, the militancy that has been used of late is only a pin prick to what it will be in the future."

Mrs. Cohen (Leeds Tailoress):—The average wage of the girls is 7s. a week. It is impossible for a girl to live on that wage. It is a season trade, and there are good times and bad times, and when a girl goes round morning after morning and receives no work and has no pay up to the week-end, that makes her very often lead a life of shame. . . . I therefore appeal to you on behalf of these working women. If you could see them you would see that they have got a haunted look.

Miss Sarah Morgan (Pit-brow Woman):—Not long ago, we came to London to endeavour to prevent the pit-brow girls' employment being taken from them. Now I think it would be one of the finest things if these girls could have the vote for their protection. We managed to keep our work from being taken from us, but we do not know whether it may not be taken away from us again unless we have some protection of this kind.

Miss Annie Kenney

Miss Annie Kenney, after referring to the representative character of the deputation, went on to review the Prime Minister's pledge, giving reasons why the fulfilment of it was practically an impossibility. Her assumption that Mr. Asquith had not really spoken on behalf of the Government as a whole was disputed by Mr. Lloyd George, who repudiated the suggestion that there would be resignations in the Cabinet if the women's amendment passed, and some discussion followed, Miss Kenney finally calling upon Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Lloyd George to resign if the amendments were not carried.

Mrs. Drummond

Mrs. Drummond made a witty speech, saying she wanted to be very brief, but practical, and she wanted Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues to understand that the deputation was also a very practical one, which knew what it wanted, and, moreover, how it was going to get it. "Now, Mr. Lloyd George," she continued, "you have doggedly stuck to old age pensions and Insurance Act, and secured them, and what you have done for these measures you can do also for the women. You have a majority of the Cabinet in your favour, and you can easily carry this measure. One thing we should like you to do, and that is to take this question seriously, and, goodness knows, we have proved to you times without number that women should have the vote. You said at the Royal Albert Hall——"

Mr. Lloyd George (laughing): "Much chance I had of saying anything there." (Laughter.)

Mrs. Drummond: "I have read your speeches many a time, and I have said to myself, 'That is a suffragist speaking.'" (Laughter.)

Mrs. Drummond ended by saying: "We have now come for those millions of votes you have been talking about. We want them this session, and we shall give you every help. We do not want to be enemies, and you, Mr. Lloyd George, with your mission to carry out social reform, will have the support that women can give you. We are coming to see you again about this question—(laughter)—and we

Underwood.

Mrs. Drummond and some of the Members of the Working Women's Deputation

hope you will make the arrangement again if we have to come after the amendments have been discussed."

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S REPLY

Mr. Lloyd George, saying he and his colleagues were much impressed by the way the women had put their case, continued:

"I am not going to dwell on the merits of women's suffrage, because all those present here to-day are convinced supporters of women's suffrage, and propose voting for the suffrage amendments on Monday and on Tuesday next. We shall certainly vote for Mr. Dickinson's amendment, and, of course, we shall all vote for Sir Edward Grey's amendment, because that is voting for the other amendments to come up for discussion. Some members will vote for the adult suffrage amendment, and if Mr. Dickinson's amendment fails we shall all vote for the conciliation amendment. **I shall do that, although I have always opposed the Conciliation Amendment,** and I have never concealed my dislike for it, because I consider it is a very narrow amendment, which does not introduce the working women to the extent it ought to, and I shall only vote for it if every other amendment fails, because **I think it is better to have women's suffrage in any form rather than not at all,** and I shall vote for it, although with very great regret that something better is not inserted in the Bill."

Mr. Lloyd George then dealt in detail with the Prime Minister's pledge, and went on to say: "Miss Kenney suggests that there have been colleagues of ours who said that if the amendment is carried against them they will resign. I have never heard them say so; on the contrary, I have heard them say the contrary. If the amendment is carried and incorporated in the Bill at the end of the report stage it becomes an essential part of that Bill, and the Government as a whole are pledged to carry it through. I am authorised to say that is the position of the Government at the present moment, and as for the statement that any colleagues of ours should have resigned from that, that statement is absolutely unauthorised, and it is inaccurate. I am not complaining that Miss Kenney has brought it to our attention, because I know there are rumours of that kind—some anti-suffrage members have been circulating it very industriously and sedulously. There is not a syllable of truth in it. When Mr. Asquith spoke, he spoke not merely as the head of the Government, but on the part of the Government."

Mr. Lloyd George then pointed out that in this matter he was only a member of Parliament, not of the Cabinet, which was divided on the subject. He could only promise to do his best. He concluded by saying, "I am perfectly prepared to give the Suffrage; I am a convinced believer in it. Since I have been in the Ministry I am more convinced than ever, because my experience over the Insurance Act and other things persuades me that it is one of the grossest pieces of injustice in public life that women should have no voice in the determination of matters that affect them much more than men. . . . I am convinced, if the arguments are properly presented to the country, you will win, and win soon."

Miss Kenney: "This session?"

Mr. Lloyd George: "Yes, I hope we shall win this session. Now, let me personally thank you for the very, very fair, clear, and cogent statement that you have made of the case, and I wish the speeches you have made to-day could be given the widest possible publicity; and I thank Mrs. Drummond for the admirable way she has organised the deputation."

SIR EDWARD GREY

Sir Edward Grey, saying it was twenty-five years since he first backed a Woman Suffrage Bill, paid a tribute to the force of the appeal made by the industrial women of the country. He endorsed what the Chancellor had said about the Prime Minister's pledge, and added that if the Franchise Bill passed without Woman Suffrage being included in it, "it is not the Government which has to be blamed. I am going to argue, when the occasion comes, that the House of Commons ought not to go back on a principle which it has adopted. But if the House of Commons fails on this occasion, you have to remember it is with public opinion as a whole that you have to reckon for the making of a future House of Commons." Sir Edward Grey ended by announcing his intention of voting for the Dickinson amendment, and, if that failed to pass, for the Conciliation Amendment.

Leading Questions

Miss Kenney then asked what was to happen if the amendments did not pass. "What are you going to do? And what are we going to do?"

Mr. Lloyd George: "That depends on the House of Commons. You have to convert the House of Commons."

In answer to another question from Miss Kenney, he said: "You are putting forward now what will happen afterwards. I have no objection to discussing that when the time comes. I have never refused to see the Suffragists. If you are meeting afterwards I have no objection to taking counsel with anybody."

Miss Kenney: "We must hope for the best, but be prepared for the worst."

Mrs. Drummond, having thanked Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Lloyd George for the careful consideration they had given the matter, Mr. Lloyd George expressed his appreciation of the way in which Mrs. Drummond had organised the deputation, and the women then withdrew.

AFTER MR. ASQUITH'S ANNOUNCEMENT

Directly the statement of the Government became known on Monday afternoon (see page 252), Mrs. Drummond wrote to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, asking him to fulfil his promise to meet the deputation again after the discussion of the amendments had taken place, although "the amendments," she added, "have been torpedoed, not discussed." She received the following reply:—

"Dear Madam,—The Chancellor of the Exchequer desires me to express his regret that his engagements will not allow him at such short notice to receive the deputation to-morrow. Meantime, he will be very glad to receive any representation you may care to submit to him in writing. Yours faithfully, "H. P. HAMILTON."

On Tuesday morning, Mrs. Drummond wrote as follows to Mr. Lloyd George:—

"I must remind you of your promise to see us again as soon as the fate of the amendments was decided. The complete withdrawal of the Franchise Bill makes it immediately necessary for working women to lay before you their views upon the present situation, and I therefore beg to inform you that I, with the members of the deputation, intend to wait upon you at the House of Commons at eight o'clock this evening. We trust that you will make the necessary arrangements to receive us."

Mr. Lloyd George's secretary replied that the Chancellor of the Exchequer quite agreed that he promised to receive a representative of the suffragists after the fate of the suffrage amendments had been decided. He would be unable, however, owing to an engagement, to see a deputation that night at eight o'clock. He did not consider that any useful purpose would now be served by meeting a large deputation, but he would be very pleased to see Mrs. Drummond and perhaps one or two other representatives at the Treasury at eleven o'clock this morning for a private discussion.

Mrs. Drummond's reply was that they would not be satisfied with anything short of a public deputation on Wednesday morning on the same lines as that of last Thursday.

The correspondence was closed with the following telegram: "The Chancellor of the Exchequer unable to receive representatives except on lines indicated in his letter of this afternoon."

As a result of this correspondence, Mrs. Drummond and her deputation were arrested for obstruction on Tuesday evening while making an attempt to enter the House of Commons.

THE GREY AMENDMENT

Debate in the House of Commons—Friday, January 24

On Friday, January 24, the House went into Committee on the Franchise and Registration Bill; and Mr. Lyttelton moved to leave out the word "male" before the word "person" in the opening words of Clause I.

MR. LYTTELTON'S SPEECH

In an admirable and well-balanced speech, Mr. Lyttelton laid stress upon the public services of women, saying it was surely "amazing" that a lady like Mrs. Humphry Ward "should embark on the paradoxical inconsistency" of advocating municipal but not political power for women. Nor could he understand how men who accepted the political assistance of women could venture to say that politics did not come within their sphere.

"The simple foundations of an extension of the franchise," he went on, "have been the principles that you cannot entrust one class with the uncontrolled guardianship of another, and that, as I think it has been well put, you cannot govern wisely without knowledge, and you cannot be sure of knowledge without representation." At another point of his speech, he defined good government as "that which is willing to give a real share and voice in its affairs to the weak as well as to the strong," and went on to say that "the weak and the miserable will be patient and ready to forgive, even if you make mistakes, provided that they have had a chance of influencing you before you make those mistakes. Order is a great deal, but you cannot maintain order permanently unless you satisfy, or try to satisfy, with the best material at your disposal, the aspirations of every section of the community."

The Militant Agitation

Mr. Lyttelton dealt with militancy as follows:—"There has been an agitation—it is called militancy—the incidents and the events of which have, I confess, filled me with absolute horror. (Hear, hear.) I do not know of which I have felt the greater horror—first, the incidents of the agitation; or, secondly, I must say, the brutal and cruel spirit, the utterly unchivalrous spirit which it has been supposed to justify. (Hear, hear.) Perhaps, after all, one must not speak too strongly of these things because human nature is human nature. Still the treatment some women have received, however criminal and however wrongful in their acts, from some men in certain crowds can only be spoken of in one way. (Cheers.) In my humble opinion, no statesman ought to yield to crime and no statesman ought to make concessions to threats. (Cheers.) I wish that to be remembered and to colour what I now say. On the other hand, I say that every statesman is entitled, nay, he is bound, to weigh any policy which has caused such an agitation, and to remember, however misguided, indeed, however criminal, the acts of some of these women have been, that women of hitherto blameless lives and high aspirations have faced in this cause the greatest ignominy and the greatest suffering. (Cheers.) It is, in fact, quite impossible to believe that that ignominy and suffering has been faced except under the inspiration of what they believed to be the loftiest motives. (Hear, hear.) I wish to say no more of that except to commend that to every ruler of this country and to bid him, if I may and if my voice should reach him, to think what an infinite public disaster it would be to range those who are naturally pacific, naturally gentle, and naturally the friends of all of us among the numerous dangerous forces of disorder that at present exist. (Hear, hear.)"

THE SECRETARY FOR THE COLONIES

Mr. Harcourt spoke against the amendment, against women, and against his colleagues on the Front Bench.

Though not an admirer of the theory of mandates, because he believed "that members of this House ought to be representatives and not delegates," he insisted that he had a clear and definite mandate against Woman Suffrage from his constituents, who had elected him rather than a Suffragist opponent. Though entirely opposed to giving any votes to women, "If during its passage any lesser form of female suffrage were grafted on the Bill," he should hold himself free at some later stage to recur to the proposal of adult suffrage, "the only policy consistent with political honesty or public justice." Though a Liberal Cabinet Minister, he pilloried Sir Edward Grey for his belief in the equality of men and women, and suggested that women Ambassadors "might add to the gaiety of nations." Though opposed to the Referendum principle, he thought it might prove the best, if not the only, method of ascertaining the opinion of the voters. He made Mr. Lloyd George a subject of derision for taking the threepences of domestic servants while denying them an opportunity of voting (under the Dickenson amendment, which would exclude them). He quoted from Herbert Spencer to prove "the relative deficiency of the female mind," and from Sir Edward Clarke, who said recently that if women obtained the franchise, "the new electorate would be less educated, more passionate and sentimental, and therefore less stable." Another remark on this line made by Mr. Harcourt was that "You wish, some of you, to make woman the master of man rather than his mate."

LORD HUGH CECIL'S REPLY

Lord Hugh Cecil confessed that the Colonial Secretary, who had spoken with violence and bitterness, had filled him with unspeakable amusement. The right hon. gentleman had all the manner of an apostle gone wrong; but the most amazing part of the speech was the extraordinary horror the right hon. gentleman appeared to have of the female sex generally. (Laughter.) He might have been recently spanked, and he seemed never to have got over the indignity of having been born of woman. (Laughter.) Lord Hugh Cecil went on to express astonishment at Mr. Harcourt's statement concerning adult suffrage. Did anybody suppose, he asked, that a Minister in a fit of temper could induce Parliament to adopt adult suffrage? "Such threats," he added, "are unworthy of the right hon. gentleman, and lower the tone of discussion."

Other Speakers

Among others who took part in the debate were Mr. Austen Chamberlain, who opposed the amendment on the usual Anti-Suffragist grounds, including the contention that the proposal had not been submitted to the electorate; Sir John Rolleston and Mr. Robert Harcourt, who supported it; and Mr. McCurdy, who, stating his intention of voting for the amendment, made a good point when he said that if there were no mandate for the enfranchisement of women, there was no mandate to bring in a Franchise Bill at all, because the proposal to allow a Woman Suffrage amendment to be moved to an Electoral Reform Bill had been publicly made by the Prime Minister both before the General Election of January, 1910, and that of December in the same year.

Mr. J. A. Pease moved the adjournment of the debate at twenty minutes past five; and owing to the subsequent withdrawal of the Bill, it was never resumed.

Mr. H. W. Massingham on the Situation

In an article appearing in the *Daily News* last Monday, Mr. H. W. Massingham wrote:—"How is it that so many men, who owe so much to women, cannot speak of them in public without a tone of insult? For it is insulting to address oneself to a subject like Women Suffrage in the tone of Mr. Harcourt's speech. I see the Parliamentary reporters describe it as 'witty.' What is wit without refinement, without human nature, without feeling, without subtlety? What coarse, cheap stuff is this, which tells women they are unfit for a Foreign Office clerkship, when nine-tenths of the suffering life of the sex is taken up with the business of diplomatising for and about men; when, in fact, the life of women, partly by virtue of their exclusion from public affairs, is largely a course of diplomacy. . . . Women unfit for diplomacy! And it is a House of Commons wit, if you please, a paladin of Liberalism, a man of society and culture, from whom this stream of vulgar prejudice flows."

But, continues Mr. Massingham, "the practical question is: What is to be done? I suppose the tactic of mixing up a man suffrage and a woman suffrage Bill is dead. The journalists will say so, and it looks as if both the Government and the women had come to the same conclusion. I am bound to say such an issue does no credit to the politicians. . . . If it is not possible to weave the conciliation amendment into the fabric of the Bill—surely not a revolutionary addition to its substance and meaning—they must obviously follow the precedent of Catholic emancipation, and give full facilities for a Suffrage Bill, framed so as to secure the largest measure of support in the Commons. I confess to view even this tactic with some doubt. So long as the House of Commons will not vote as it thinks, but merely as it thinks its voting may affect other questions, there is no great hope for woman suffrage. What hope exists arises from much the same state of mind as the importunate widow of Scripture was able to keep alive. Politicians know at least that they cannot get rid of the question save in one way. Popular or unpopular, befriended or deserted, it never leaves them. So they listen not to the depth or the meaning of the call, but to its noise and volume."

THE SPEAKER'S RULING

Thursday, January 23

When we went to press last week on the eve of the Committee stage of the Franchise Bill, excitement was intense with regard to the approaching fight in the Commons over the Woman Suffrage amendments. On Thursday afternoon in last week (January 23) the whole situation was abruptly changed by a statement of the Speaker made in answer to Mr. Bonar Law, who asked for the ruling of the Speaker on a question arising out of the Government amendments to the Franchise Bill. He submitted that these made such a material difference in the Bill that they necessitated its withdrawal and the introduction and second reading of a new Bill. He based this assumption on a previous ruling of Mr. Speaker Peel's in 1889 in connection with the Tithes Rent Bill, on which occasion the Speaker said it was the practice rather than the rule of the House that if a Bill were so transformed after its second reading a new Bill should be introduced and read a second time, embodying the new principles. On that occasion the Government withdrew the Bill.

The Speaker's Statement

The Speaker, in reply, said that Mr. Speaker Peel gave his ruling while the Bill in question was in Committee, and that he considered this ruling a little "previous." He could not yet assume that the amendments were all going to be inserted in the Franchise Bill. "Therefore," he continued, "I do not think that I ought to pronounce at the present time any opinion in regard to them. There are also other amendments relating to female suffrage, which, of course, would make a huge difference if they were inserted (cheers), and at the present time heaven only knows in what shape the Bill will emerge from Committee. (Laughter.) I think it would be improper for me to give any ruling with regard to the particular point now, but for the general information of the House I may say that the general principle appears very clearly stated on page 491 of the last edition of May. Broadly speaking it is this, that if such substantial amendments are made during the passage of a Bill in Committee as materially to affect the form and substance of the Bill in such a way as to make it for all practical purposes a new Bill, then it is necessary for that Bill to be withdrawn and a new Bill to be introduced. That is simply the general statement, and there I am afraid I must leave it for the present. We must wait and see in what position the Bill reappears."

This announcement, said the evening papers, was received with cheers from the Radical benches.

Mr. Lloyd George's Comments

In the course of the debate on the time table of the Franchise Bill, which was moved the same day by the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George dealt at some length with the Speaker's statement. He claimed that in 1884, when the question of woman suffrage came before the House as an amendment, Lord Randolph Churchill asked whether it was germane to the Bill and could be moved in Committee, and Mr. Woodall, who was in charge of the Bill, said he had consulted Mr. Speaker, who said no instruction was necessary.

Lord Robert Cecil having interposed with a request for a plain statement on the authority of the Government that it would not be impossible to proceed with the Franchise Bill at a later stage, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that the Government had looked up the precedents of 1867 and 1884. The question was more or less raised in the debate of 1884, and he could not find any precedent, though he did not want to dogmatise without further inquiry, of the Speaker ruling a Bill out of order. The only thing that had ever happened was that an appeal was made to the Ministry to withdraw the Bill. The Ministry on two occasions responded and on other occasions they did not, but never had a case been found where the Speaker had ruled that in consequence of the number of germane amendments—he used the word germane—the Bill was so completely changed that he could not allow it to proceed to the third reading. The Solicitor-General reminded him that the Bill already included women in the clause referring to local government.

Universal Indignation

Speaking at the Holborn Hall, the same evening, Mr. George Lansbury said that if Sir Rufus Isaacs and Sir John Simon, who were responsible for the drafting of the Bill, and for the insertion of the word "male," did not know enough about the law and procedure in the House of Commons to see whether its removal would so alter the Bill as to cause it to be withdrawn, then those gentlemen had either been hoodwinking the women all these six months, or they were unfit for the position they occupied.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, in a statement issued at once, contended that the Reform Bill of 1867 provided a precedent for the situation contemplated by the Speaker in that it was introduced in one form and carried in another. The amendment which really established household suffrage was moved by Mr. Hodgkinson, a Radical member, and accepted at the last moment by Disraeli. It admitted the "compound householder," and not only changed "the form and substance" of the Bill, but went a long way in itself towards doubling the electorate, which increased, mainly in consequence of this amendment, from 1,352,000 in 1867 to 2,243,000 in 1870.

The Women's Social and Political Union issued a manifesto at once, urging Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Lloyd George to resign if the Prime Minister's pledge could not be carried out, and concluding by saying that everything that had happened proved that there was no solution to the woman suffrage question except by means of a Government measure.

Friday, January 24

On Friday, when the House went into Committee on the Franchise Bill (an account of the debate on Sir Edward Grey's amendment will be found on page 259), Mr. Lloyd George rose at once to put a series of questions to Mr. Whitley, the Chairman of Committees.

The Chairman's replies to these and other questions were in effect as follows:

(1) The first suffragist amendment (to omit the word "male") was in order, and came within the scope of the Bill to propose that the franchise should be extended to women.

(2) The Chairman has nothing to do with the cumulative effect of amendments.

(3) He has no power to stop the Bill in Committee, however many amendments are carried, if they be in order.

(4) If the first amendment be negatived no other amendments on the question of Woman Suffrage can be proposed.

(5) If the first amendment were passed and the others—those of Messrs. A. Henderson, Dickinson, and Lyttelton—be negatived, the House would, in the Chairman's opinion, go back to the status quo ante, and the word "person" would hold the meaning hitherto attributed to it (namely, "male person"), in spite of the omission of the word "male."

CRITICISM IN THE PRESS

The Press on Friday and throughout the week-end was unanimous in its scathing criticism of the Government's dilemma.

"P. W. W." wrote in the *Daily News* (January 24):—"A situation of profound gravity is clearly sprung upon the House. . . . The fear is that the artifice, as it will be regarded, will lead to a serious and widespread outburst of resentment. The one essential at this moment is that the women should feel that they are receiving absolutely fair and honourable treatment at the hands of Parliament. It is thus widely regretted that the present point of order or possible point of order should not have occurred earlier to persons responsible.

"It is recognised even by anti-Suffragists that this is not simply a Parliamentary situation, but a human situation, at least as serious outside the House as within these walls."

"H. J." wrote in the *Daily Chronicle* (January 24):—"One's sense of justice and fairplay is affronted when a tremendously vital question like that of the enfranchisement of women is thus exposed to all these peculiar perils, some open and some secret."

The Special Commissioner of the *Daily Herald* wrote:—"The Speaker's ruling, in any case, is only too complete a justification of the attitude taken throughout by the Militant Suffragists towards the whole idea of the fate of Women's Enfranchisement being thus involved in a Bill promoted for a different purpose."

"A Wayfarer" wrote in *The Nation*:—"In the lobbies, in the smoking-rooms, in the tea-rooms, in the corridors, even sotto voce, in the House itself, only one subject of conversation has been heard during the last week—woman suffrage. The place simply hums with it; never, in my recollection, has the House been in such a state of nerves, of funk, of sheer moral weakness, of 'possession,' of cross-purposes, of irritation."

The *Morning Post* said:—"The Speaker will be the scapegoat—a convenient and defenceless scapegoat; but the sinner is the Government in being party—sincere or insincere—to such a subterfuge as the attempt to rush this thing through by a side door."

The *Daily Telegraph* said:—"Mr. Asquith has backed political management against political honesty once too often. Let him settle with the Suffragists as best he can."

The *Manchester Guardian* said:—"This is a grave deliverance [of the Speaker's]. . . . It will be for the Government, whose own solution of the question has failed, to find another."

The *Globe* said:—"There is no honest solution of the Woman Suffrage question except by a Government measure, passed on the responsibility of His Majesty's Ministers after the country has had full opportunity of declaring on the merits of so momentous a change. That is the right of the people. The Opposition must be no party to its denial."

The *Daily Citizen* said:—"Unless the Government find an immediate way out of the difficulty they will find it impossible to escape the charge of incompetence—or worse. . . . If it is found to be impossible to decide the issue by a free vote of the House of Commons . . . a united demand must go forward in favour of a Government Bill. . . . It is really time to make an end of Parliamentary fooling, and to demand honest dealing on this vitally important question."

The *Spectator* (January 25) said:—"We are bound to say that the past treatment of the suffrage question by the supporters of the Government has naturally disposed women suffragists to believe that they are always being hoodwinked and tricked."

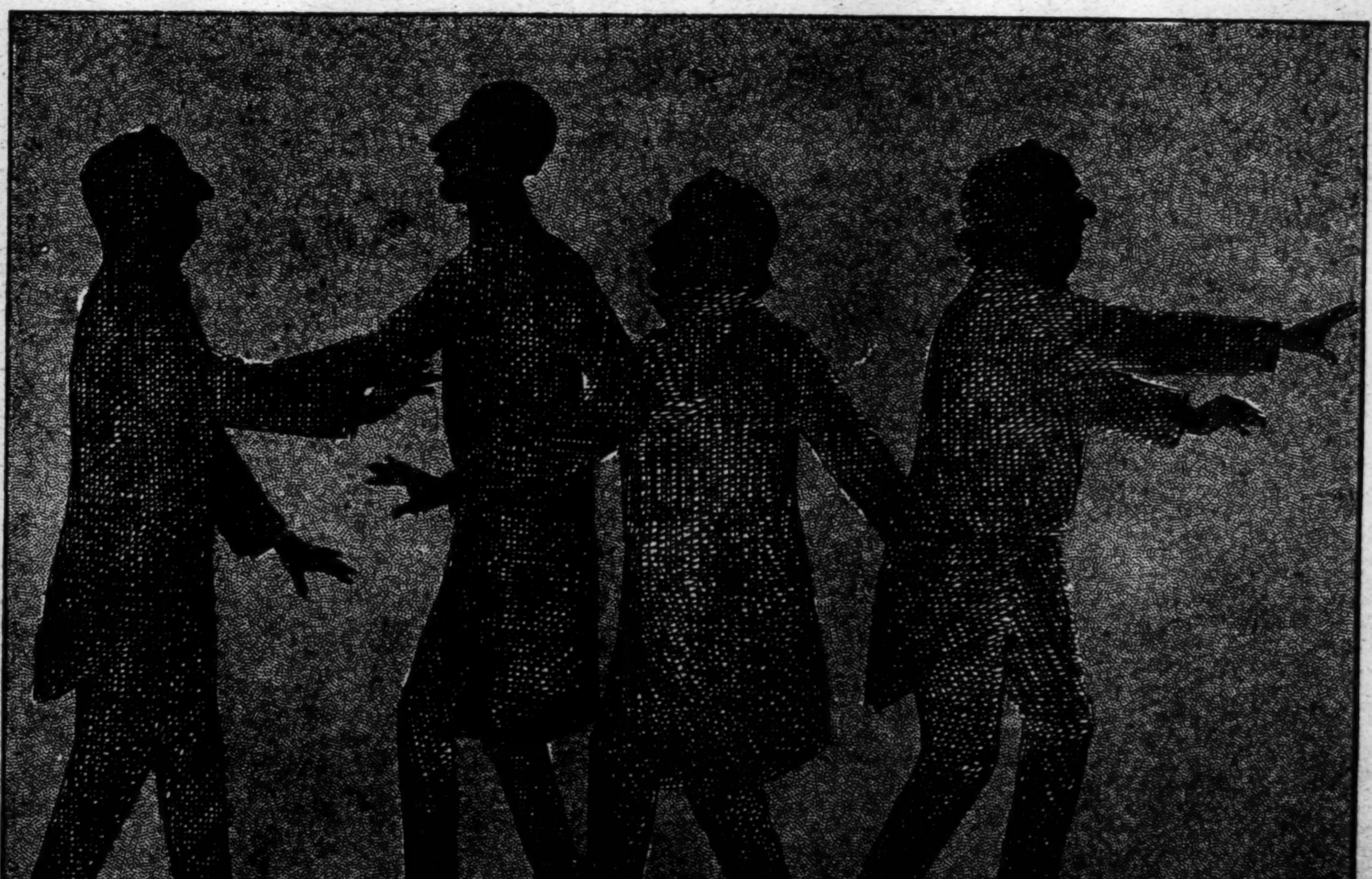
◆

Wanted—a Female Aristophanes

The *Observer* of last Sunday said:—"We make this concession to the suffragists—that the extraordinary proceedings during the past week have been a satire upon male government. No more scathing travesty could be staged by a female Aristophanes, were such a being existent or imaginable. For days the House of Commons was seething with excitement and intrigue. The principle at stake was grave; the methods were astounding. It was the attempted climax of revolution in a hurry. The principle which has been the solid basis of order and power in this country, as in all great societies, for ages was to be abolished in three days. . . . Anti-suffragists and suffragists in the Cabinet are equally exposed to the 'unquenchable laughter' of the gods, as well as to the unmeasured indignation of the women. The Speaker's point was plain when made. It ought to have been obvious before. Ministers have been considering every aspect of the Suffrage question for years. They have Law Officers to help them in preparing their measures. They have the Teutonic profundity of Lord Haldane; the celebrated acuteness of Sir Rufus Isaacs; the services of that solemn model of a pundit on a monument, Sir John Simon; and the resources of that more cheerful Pharisee in the cause of party above all things and place at any price, the inexpressible Mr. Ure. . . . .

"After years of meditation this unique Cabinet of collective wisdom framed their Franchise Bill. They proclaimed that Women's Suffrage might be smuggled in or smothered under by amendments. They proclaimed that view, acted on it, traded on it, only to be informed by the Speaker at the last moment that the Ministerial procedure was impossible."

IN A FOG



CHERCHANT LA FEMME

With acknowledgments to the "Westminster Gazette," in which the above cartoon appeared on January 22.

IN THE POLICE COURTS

January 28 and 29

MRS. DESPARD

Tuesday, January 28.

At Bow Street on Tuesday morning Mrs. Despard, three other women, and one man, were charged with obstructing the free passage of the highway. Mrs. Despard was fined 40s. or in default fourteen days' imprisonment in the second division. The second suffragist, who refused her name and address, was fined 10s. or in default seven days in the second division. Both emphatically refused to pay anything, and Mrs. Despard said:—

"I absolutely decline to recognise the jurisdiction of this court or of any court. I say that as women are outside the law they are treated in this country with absolute injustice.

"For myself, personally, it matters nothing. Everybody knows what my life has been; how I have endeavoured to serve the public and the people. My aim, now and for the rest of my life, if I come out of prison, is going to be devoted to making people feel the injustice with which women are being treated.

"I make no excuse for what I have done. I shall probably repeat the same offence. My aim now is to awaken the public conscience.

"I have nothing to say against the police. They have treated me with the greatest courtesy and kindness. They know they have to do it, and it goes greatly against the grain with them, I believe. The crowd were perfectly sympathetic, and if I had lifted my hand I might have been rescued. That is all I have to say. I say I do not in any sense recognise the authority of this court to try me."

Other Cases

There was a third charge of obstruction of the police against a woman who refused her name and address. The evidence was that she was attempting to address a crowd by Gordon's statue, and when requested by the police refused to go away. A fine of 40s., with an alternative of fourteen days in the second division, was imposed.

Mr. Simpson, a member of the Men's League, was also charged with obstructing the police, and fined 40s. or fourteen days in the second division.

In all thirty women suffragists were arrested in the London police area on Tuesday night, and were taken to the following police stations: Cannon Row, twenty-two; Rochester Row, four; Vine Street, one; Marlborough Street, one; Marylebone Lane, two. Twenty-one of these were arrested in or about Parliament Square.

The following were charged at Cannon Row: Mrs. Drummond, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Miss Evelyn Cotton Hay, Miss Dora Leigh, Miss Nance Seymour Pearson, Nurse Hutchinson, Miss Elsie Houlton, Miss Nance Norton, Miss Margaret McFarlane, Miss Elsie Evans, Mrs. Cobden Hirst, Miss Nora Newton, Miss Clare Lambert, Miss Alice Smith, Miss Olive Llewellyn, Miss Ethel Thomas, Miss Grace Williams, Miss McLeod, Miss Scott. Two other women who were arrested refused to give their names, and are consequently not included in the list.

When the House had risen twenty-two persons were bailed out by Mr. Marshall.

Wednesday, Jan. 29

Thirty women, charged with obstruction and wilful damage during Tuesday's disturbances in Whitehall and elsewhere, were in the Bow Street list of prisoners on Wednesday morning. Four of these were out of the jurisdiction of the court and were transferred to Marlborough Street. Mrs. Drummond was the first to be charged.

Mrs. Drummond

Mr. Muskett explained the circumstances under which Mr. Lloyd George refused to meet the women at eight o'clock on Tuesday, and offered to receive the private deputation at eleven o'clock on Wednesday morning. It was decided by the women to attend at the House of Commons at the time originally fixed. They were allowed to pass through the police cordon at St. Margaret's Church, and about twenty of the women were escorted to St. Stephen's entrance. They refused to go away, and it was found necessary to arrest Mrs. Drummond and others. She struggled violently.

Mrs. Drummond questioned the accuracy of this statement. What she said on her arrest was, "That is the best thing you can do."

Addressing the magistrate, Mrs. Drummond asked for the same privileges in making her defence as those accorded to ordinary criminals, namely, to be allowed to state her motives. She said that the authorities, meaning Mr. Lloyd George and the magistrate, were all in the same case. She said that on her way to the House of Commons she was roughly seized by a constable, and badly twisted, and that she fainted. "All the court knows," she added, "that it would need a good deal to make me faint." She lay like a log on the pavement and vomited. When she got to the cordon outside the square, Superintendent Wells asked her how many women she wanted to go through. She said twenty, and she pointed out that if she had been out for trouble she would have asked for the full number, namely, several hundred. She resisted because Mr. Lloyd George had promised to see the same deputation as before, and she did not consider that it was honest for him to ask for a private conference of two or three individuals. When she got to St. Stephen's Hall, she explained, she asked that the women might be allowed to go in and wait. She added: "Mr. Lloyd George has by this action insulted us abominably. It is now war to the knife. You and Lloyd George have got a good deal of trouble before you; you have got to resign your post, or you must say to Lloyd George, 'I refuse to do your dirty work for you.'"

The magistrate said that for the offence of obstructing the police she must pay a fine of 40s.

Mrs. Drummond: You'll get no money out of me.

The Magistrate: Then you must be imprisoned in the second division for fourteen days.

Mrs. Drummond: For shame; you surely mean the first division.

The Magistrate: I have nothing further to say.

As Mrs. Drummond was leaving the dock she exclaimed: "Then there will be a hunger strike."

Other Cases

There were two other cases before the luncheon interval. In the case of Miss Hay the evidence went to show that she had a bag of stones on her. She disputed the evidence, and it was ruled out. She was given fourteen days in the second division.

Nurse Evans, on a charge of obstructing the police, said that she went on that deputation on behalf of the poor and downtrodden of Bermondsey. She had been a social worker all her life. The magistrate sentenced her to 40s. fine or fourteen days in the second division.

Wednesday Afternoon

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's case was the first to be heard in the afternoon. She was charged with obstructing the police. She applied for an adjournment for a week, saying that she wished to take legal advice. She gave an undertaking that she would not take part in any disturbance in the meantime.

The Magistrate: "Very good, the case will be adjourned until this day week. I will accept bail on your assurance that there will be no further disturbance so far as you are concerned." Miss Pankhurst then left the court.

Miss Mary Grey, who said she regarded herself as an outlaw, and would not accept the jurisdiction of any court, was fined 40s. or fourteen days, for obstructing the police.

Nurse Huntingdon was fined 40s., or fourteen days, for obstructing the police, and Miss Mary Pearson and other defendants were similarly dealt with.

Miss Margaret Macfarlane was charged with breaking a window of the Home Office, doing damage to the extent of £2. She was ordered to pay the damage, and a fine of 40s., or in default fourteen days.

Miss Mary Neil was fined 40s., and ordered to pay the damage, £2, or in default one month's imprisonment, for breaking a window at the Home Office. She protested against "the disgusting behaviour meted out to Mrs. Drummond, a working woman, for trying to see Lloyd George. Lloyd George is paid by us women," she said, "and as a paid servant should meet those who employ him."

At the Guildhall

Miss Margaret James appeared at the Guildhall to answer a charge of wilfully and maliciously smashing windows at Gamage's (Limited), Holborn, with a hammer, doing damage to the extent of £60.

The statutory caution was read to the defendant prior to her committal for trial, and she observed, "I'll reserve my defence until the trial."

A lady applied for bail.

The Defendant: No, I don't want bail.

At Marylebone

At Marylebone on Wednesday Miss Grace Burbidge was remanded on a charge of maliciously damaging a number of letters by placing liquid phosphorus in a box outside the Midland Station in Camden Road on Tuesday night. A postman heard a woman scream, and saw her with her arm enveloped in a blue flame. A constable who followed her to the doctors stated that she said, "I went to put it into the box; it went on my arm instead."

The *Pall Mall Gazette* states that the Birmingham police have issued a notice declaring that every private citizen is by law entitled and expected to take a part, with or without assistance, in the suppression of unlawful meetings and protection of property.

"CONSCIENCE DOTH MAKE COWARDS"

Under the heading, "Members and the Feminine Peril," the following account appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* on Wednesday: "Parliament building was like a beleaguered fort all the evening. Very few women were allowed in the building, and these only if they had first-class credentials. . . . Some members have shown a nervousness which is almost comical. There is a story of one—a very advanced Radical and Suffragist—who, because he has condemned militant tactics, believed himself to be a marked man. Instead of walking home or taking the democratic omnibus, he crept along the passage which leads to the District Station and took a devious route by two tube railways. Another narrative, most circumstantial in its detail, is that a member leaving the House just before its rising was so alarmed at the bursting of a motor-car tyre that he hurriedly returned to the shelter of the Palace."

The London Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* also wrote: "At one time in the evening it was rumoured that the Whips of both parties had agreed on an early adjournment at the request of the police. This picturesque fiction soon spread, and was the subject of much eager discussion and the occasion of not a little unnecessary heroism on the part of members. . . . It is said that the bursting of a motor-tyre in Palace Yard drove some timid legislators into shelter."

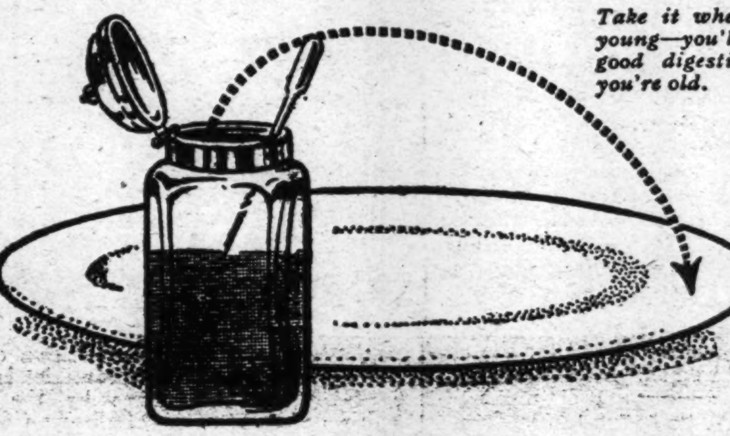
The Lobby Correspondent of the *Daily Mail* wrote: "The House of Commons yesterday apparently paid the militant suffragettes the greatest compliment of their career. By rising at 9.15 p.m., at least two hours before the usual time for the adjournment, members gave the women a chance of saying with much plausibility that the Commons had run away from them. This gibe was the more justified because of the alarmist rumours of feminine violence that were the talk of the Lobby during the evening. There were stories of the advance of a mighty host of Mænads from the Horticultural Hall, sworn to avenge their betrayal. Suffragist looked anxiously at Anti-Suffragist; news of the common enemy was eagerly sought. It was as though a besieged army watched with fear the approach of an assaulting army. The broad blue backs of policemen surrounding the citadel gave members some comfort. But then, who knew whether there were not women concealed in the cellars, whether the floors were not mined, or some explosive surprise ready?"

Some members of Parliament, says the Lobby correspondent of the *Morning Post*, have shown a nervousness which is almost comical. There is a story of one—a very advanced Radical and Suffragist—who, because he has condemned militant tactics, believed himself to be a marked man. Instead of walking home or taking the democratic omnibus, he crept along the passage which leads to the District Station and took a devious route by two tube railways.

Though no gunpowder was used last night, the House managed to rise two hours before the usual time for adjournment.—**Globe, Jan. 29.**

WHAT DID THEY FEAR?

As two members of the W.S.P.U., one a well-known medical woman and the other an equally well-known woman writer, turned into Victoria Street on Tuesday evening at an hour when the road was practically deserted, a man, on seeing them, exclaimed excitedly, "They ought to call out the military!" Another member, a woman journalist, who was getting into a motor in Whitehall, where the crowd was thick, was assailed with cries of "Shoot her down!"



Take it when you're young—you'll have a good digestion when you're old.

If you leave the mustard in the pot you may leave a hearty appetite and a good digestion inside it too. Make sure that the mustard-pot comes *your* way.

Good mustard is made to be eaten not only with beef, but with all kinds of meat, poultry and game. It is put on the table for use, not for ornament.

Never eat mutton alone. It requires the piquancy of some contrasting flavour. *Try Mustard* with your mutton.

Colman's D.S.F. Mustard

S.H.B.

HAYFORD'S
"SPECIAL" SKIN GLOVES.
REALLY WASHABLE.
WHITE. CREAM. NAT'L. 2 Buttons, 2/11 & 3/11 | SAXE, to pull on. 3/11 Elastic Wrists.
GLOVE STORES, SLOANE ST., S.W.

TENTATIVE
attempts are being made by many people at food reform. The ever-present difficulty is the "main dish" at dinner. An earnest effort to solve this difficulty has resulted in our offer of fifteen dainty, savory cutlets and patties for half-a-crown, post free. Cheltenham Food Reform Depot, 2, Clarence Street, Cheltenham. Details, post free.

Established 1820. E. DAY & CO., Tel. No. 2840 P.O. Hampstead.
FRENCH CLEANING & DYEING WORKS.
NETTOYAGE A SEC.
5, Brecknock Road, and 275, High Street, Camden Town, N.W.

Dry Cleaning in all its branches, and Dyeing in latest Fashionable Shades.

Receiving Houses: 10, Russell Gardens, Kensington, W, 68, Rosslyn Hill, Hampstead, N.W

THE OLDEST and STILL The "IDEAL COCOA"
SCHWEITZER'S Cocoatina
THE OLDEST and STILL The "IDEAL COCOA"

NON-MILITANTS DEMAND A GOVERNMENT MEASURE

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies issued the following statement on Monday evening:—

"The offer of facilities for a private member's Bill next session cannot be regarded by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies as an equivalent of the opportunity promised by the Prime Minister of proceeding by means of an amendment to the Government Franchise Bill. Such an amendment once passed would have received the protection of the Government and the advantage of the Parliament Act. A private member's Bill, on the other hand, would be subject to continual risk from the devices of its enemies during the three years which might elapse before it could become law. Procedure by private member's Bill would have had an excellent chance in 1910 and 1911 when the Conciliation Bill passed its second reading by large majorities, but the Government would not grant facilities. A promise of facilities was given for 1912, but in the meantime the Bill, in the words of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was "torpedoed" by the announcement of the Government Franchise Bill, which we were assured by Sir Edward Grey "provided a better opportunity than women's suffrage had ever yet had of making real progress in the House of Commons."

"It is therefore clear that the offer of a private member's Bill is wholly inadequate to meet the situation, and that nothing now can fully redeem the Prime Minister's pledges, except the introduction of a Government measure including women."

Mrs. Fawcett

In the course of an article which will appear in the next issue of the *Englishwoman,* Mrs. Fawcett writes:—

"The National Union invites all suffragists to combine in demanding a Government measure. It asks its friends in the House to frustrate any attempt to deal with the franchise in any form until women's claims are met. It appeals, finally, to all sections of the movement to take their part in a resolute constitutional agitation. Public opinion regards the record of the Government on this question with disgust. It can be rallied to demand fair dealing and straightforward action."

Speaking at the Town Hall, Paddington, last Tuesday, Mrs. Fawcett said she believed it was impossible to get a free vote, and their aim in future would be to secure a Woman Suffrage Cabinet and a Government measure. While condemning militancy, she said: "So far as policy is concerned we are once more in line. We are claiming, as other sections of the suffrage societies are, a Government Bill for the enfranchisement of women."

Mr. F. D. Acland

At the same meeting, Mr. F. D. Acland, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, said that, personally, he would not be able to speak on any ordinary platform of Liberal politics until the second reading of a private member's Bill had been taken and fully debated in the House. (Cheers.) Even his colleagues who were opposed to him on the suffrage would not think it unnatural for him to speak only on this one subject.

The Federated Council

An emergency meeting of the Federated Council of Suffrage Societies was held last Tuesday to consider the position in regard to the suffrage movement. Miss M. A. Broadhurst presided over a full attendance, representing some twenty different societies. After a discussion, in which strong indignation was expressed with regard to the position into which the Government had brought the whole question of the enfranchisement of women by their failure to keep a pledge responsibly given to the women of the country by the Prime Minister, the following resolution was proposed by Miss Farquharson, seconded by Mrs. Cecil Chapman:—

"That this Federated Council of Suffrage Societies desires to place on record its strong indignation at the Government's failure to redeem its pledges, and emphatically reasserts its demand for a Government measure."

The resolution was passed unanimously. The Council decided to meet again on Friday next to consider further action.

The Women's Labour League

At the eighth annual conference of the Women's Labour League, held last Tuesday at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, the following urgency resolution was carried unanimously:—

"That this conference of the Women's Labour League, in view of Mr. Asquith's pledge that he would place the issue of woman's suffrage before the House of Commons this session and of the unprecedented ruling of the Speaker, demands the immediate introduction of a Government measure containing clauses enfranchising women, and further demands that facilities should be given for the passing of the Bill so that it could come under the provisions of the Parliament Act."

In the course of the discussion, Miss Margaret Bondfield contended that they must ask for a Government measure. They knew enough concerning Parliamentary procedure to know the pitfalls in the way of private members' Bills. When a Cabinet was embarrassed by men who were not strong men they were got out of the way by being sent to the other House. They had to make the Government realise that any such member was a menace to the Liberal Party and must be sent to another place. (Laughter and applause.)

The Men's League

The executive of the Men's League for Woman Suffrage has adopted a resolution, the principal clause of which runs as follows:—

"That there is no satisfactory solution of the present deadlock in regard to Woman's Suffrage except a Government measure providing for the removal of Woman's Electoral Disabilities."

Mr. H. N. Brailsford, in a letter to the Press on the Government's new proposal, says: "The new promise is only one illustration the more of the incurable levity of a House which has surrendered its will to the party machine. The suffrage societies have already discounted this new opportunity. No serious suffragist disputes the difficulty of one day obtaining a Government Bill. Precisely for that reason it would be folly to waste further energy meanwhile on a futile task."

COMING EVENTS

The tour arranged by the Irish Women's Suffrage Societies, in which Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mr. George Lansbury, and others have been taking part this week, concludes to-day (Friday) with a social reception, arranged by Dr. Elizabeth Bell, in the Scottish Temperance Buildings, Belfast, at 3.30 p.m.

Speeches in Welsh and English will be made at a meeting of the Forward Cymric Suffrage Union (hon. sec., 53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, Fulham, S.W.), at Alan's Tea Rooms, 263, Oxford Street, London, W., on Monday, February 3, at 7 p.m. The speakers will be Mr. George Lansbury and Mrs. M. E. Davies, and the chair will be taken by Mrs. Mansell-Moullin. All seats are free, and Welsh men and women are specially invited.

On Wednesday, February 12, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak in the Town Hall, Rickmansworth, at 8 p.m. The chair will be taken by Mr. H. D. Harben.

A Women's Suffrage exhibition of art, literature, and sweated industries is being organised at Eastbourne by the Men's League for Women's Suffrage (136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster, S.W.), assisted by the various woman suffrage associations. The exhibition will be open on February 8 from 12 to 10 o'clock.

The Church League for Women's Suffrage (11, St. Mark's Crescent, Regent's Park, N.W.), announces a meeting on the White Slave Traffic in the Town Hall, Anerley, on February 3. The speakers are Miss Abadam and Mrs. Edward Smallwood.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence will speak for the M.P.U. (13, Buckingham Street, W.C.) in the Corn Exchange, Oxford, on Tuesday, February 11, when the chair will be taken by Mr. H. D. Harben.

Miss Cicely Hamilton's play, "A Matter of Money," will be given by the Pioneer Players at the Court Theatre on February 9 and February 11.

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

In the House of Commons on Wednesday, January 29, Mr. King asked whether the promise of facilities for a Woman Suffrage Bill next Session would be given to a Bill for adult female suffrage or to a Bill for female suffrage on the Norwegian system, or to a Bill to enfranchise female householders.

Mr. Lloyd George replied that, as explained on Monday, this was a matter for the supporters of the Suffrage movement to decide for themselves.

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK

The London Teachers' Association, at a meeting in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, on Saturday, January 25, carried the following resolution by a good majority:—"That this Association shall support the principle of equal pay for equal work for men and women teachers of the same professional status."

THE OLD, OLD STORY

The Bank of Ireland is about to admit women to clerkships—for the purpose of securing greater efficiency and trustworthiness, while at the same time saving money. For, of course, it is not proposed to give the women clerks the same pay as men would have to get for performing the same work.—**Irish Citizen.**

THE PRESS—AFTER THE FIASCO

What reason was there for suddenly proposing a great extension of the suffrage to men at the present time? Clearly there was one, and one only. The Bill was intended to "dish the women."—**Standard.**

To show the extraordinary lengths to which this self-deception has gone we need only refer to Mr. Asquith's explanation of how the word "male" came to be in the Bill: "By introducing the word 'male,' and putting it in the first line of the first clause, it was our honest intention to carry out the pledge we had given, and as it were to challenge in the most pointed way the decision of the House when the Bill came into Committee as to whether or not the Bill should be confined to one sex." That is our honesty, and the proof of our honesty, to confine a Bill to the inclusion of males in order that it may be extended to the inclusion of females! We prove that we meant the Bill to be an omnibus by calling it a gig! If this is honesty in the opinion of the Prime Minister, we should like to have his example of tergiversation, evasion, sophistication, subterfuge. If the Government put in "male" in order that "female" might be included in Committee, we can conceive how they honestly came to include in a preamble what they never intended should become law.—**Morning Post.**

What the women have now achieved is to bring it home to the electors that the question is practical and imminent, and that a pledge given by a candidate, whether at a by-election or a General Election, will issue in actual legislation. That, we dare say, will temporarily be very disturbing to normal party politics, but none of us have any right to complain of this. The question is of the highest importance; it has reached the point at which it must be settled, and Parliament and our whole political system would be discredited if we could not settle it in a fair and honest manner. — **Westminster Gazette.**

For no less than five years has the procedure been contemplated which was now to have been carried out, and which the Speaker's ruling has made it impossible to carry out. It is a long time to spend in a wild-goose chase, and there was some ground yesterday for abasement on the part of the pundits of procedure and of a Government which has trusted itself to them; much ground also for apology to the women and the advocates of the women's cause and for ample reparation. The apology was duly forthcoming, but we are not so clear as to the reparation. . . . What is clear is that the offer of a private member's Bill falls far short of such a redemption.—**Manchester Guardian.**

Those who oppose the enfranchisement of women on the ground of the alleged political superiority of men have little reason to be proud of the present situation. . . . We think, in view of all the circumstances, the Government might and ought to have, gone a good deal farther in the way of reparation than it has done. At the very least it would have been possible for the Government in the early stages of next session to submit the question to the unfettered judgment of the House of Commons, and, in the event of the judgment of the House being favourable, the Government could then have made itself responsible for the measure, and carried it through all its stages. That, at least, might have been done, and the pledges given by Mr. Asquith cannot lightly be set aside.—**Daily Citizen.**

They [Cabinet Ministers] have given the suffragists at last a genuine grievance, and have in all probability let loose a new flood of "militant" outrage. — **Daily Express.**

We want, and mean to have, a Government measure giving Votes to Women, and if the Government does not grasp its obligations on that score I shall be compelled to believe that when they threw their Bill overboard this afternoon they threw over with it both their wits and the last clinging shreds of their tattered reputation.—**Daily Herald.**

The fiasco is complete in every way. There has been nothing like it in modern political history. An attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable has failed ignominiously, and the Government comes out of the business completely discredited. And the women who place the vote before everything—how do they stand to-day? They and their supporters have just cause for resentment, and the feeling of anger is not confined to the wild and militant section of the movement. At the least Ministers have shown themselves blunderers. They promised something which it is now clear they could not give.—**Pall Mall Gazette, Jan. 27.**

There is now no disguise that the women have been shamelessly tricked, or that they have been sacrificed as every other claim and interest has been sacrificed to the need for keeping the Government in office so that the Parliament Act may do its fell work. . . . Be it said to the credit of the prescience of the women, they have never departed from the contention that only by a Government Bill giving votes to women could their claims hope for success.—**Globe, Jan. 27.**

In "Punch"

No women are allowed on the territory of the newest Republic, Mount Athos. An expeditionary force of Suffragettes is, we hear, to be fitted out at once.

The interview last week between Mr. Lloyd George and the fish-wives must have been somewhat piquant. It is said that one of the ladies cried out "Mr. George, where would you have been without Billingsgate?"

"A suffragist tea-shop has been set up within a stone's-throw of the Houses of Parliament."—*Daily Chronicle.*

"Stone's-throw" is good.

DICKINS & JONES
SALE
NOW PROCEEDING
EVERYTHING
REDUCED
IN PRICE
Sale Catalogue Post Free.
C. 10.
Well Tailored Coat and Skirt (as illustration) in New Ribbed material. Bengaline Silk Collar embroidered to harmonise.
Sale Price 98/6
To measure 10/6 extra.
C. 2.
Suit of New Spring Tweeds (as illustration), excellently cut and finished. Coat lined silk.
Sale Price 78/6
DICKINS & JONES LTD.
SALE
Regent St., London, W.

CORRESPONDENCE

WHO WAS SAINT BRIDE?

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Some stories of Saint Bride may interest your readers, since we are about to commemorate specially on her day,* February 1, woman and her vision of the Kingdom that is and was committed to her, praying that all sovereign virtues may be given her for its ruling.

The stories about her are manifold, and each one more enchanting than the last. I must content myself with an attempt to delineate the amazing background from which she comes forth to us, a voice of the woman for all ages, and illustrate her meaning and intention with two or three short stories. Surely never around one name was gathered a greater treasure of legend and history! Sometimes we find her a Shepherdess among the hills, the giver of all sacred gifts among the country homes and in the halls of kings; sometimes she is a Druidess, this treasurer of ancient love of life and healing, leading a barbarous folk into civilised acts; sometimes she is the friend and disciple of St. Patrick and the founder of institutions; again, she is spoken of as the Blessed Mother of Christ again upon earth; and in the offices of the Latin Church there are amazing claims made for her; and ever and behind all she is the Great Vestal Goddess, Mother of Life, Guardian of sacred fires that are never extinguished, and keeper of the mystery of Arthur's resting-place, from which he shall return restored.

Those who wish to know more of these things should get A. Herbert's careful little book, "Saint Brighid and Her Times" (published in Dublin by Hodges, Figgis).

Space forbids me to show how she is one of the supreme illustrations of the ever-virgin motherhood which is found in its many interpretations all over the world. Three stories come to my mind which seem to have a special bearing on the days of crises through which we are passing.

Consulted by abbots and by chiefs, Brighid helped largely in the development and the control of those parts of the country where she set her foot. Her name is perpetrated in many a spot which was long resorted to for healing. She enumerated the arts, and set the ignorant to learn and to create with the tools of the weaver, the mason, the metalsmith, the pen and brush of the illuminator. An abbot was not too proud to call himself "Brighid's Brazier." A beautiful specimen of her work is an exquisitely chaste crozier, being preserved in the library in Dublin to this day. Another was called her "Gilliemair," or "Servant of Mair" (or Mary, with whom she was constantly identified). All these folk worked together for joy of the vision within them. We can, with a little trouble, rebuild for ourselves a picture of those times.

Brighid had no notion of dividing the natural work of the men from the natural work of the women. We are told that under her ruling the houses of the men students and of the women students were not far from one another. Here is a story, surely authentic, of her treatment of an obstreperous youth who, impatient of control, had hurried to the fields, apparently to put the rules of his superiors behind him. He was accosted by Brighid, who asked him whither he was hurrying. To which he retorted that he was "hurrying to the Kingdom of Heaven." Whereupon Brighid cried, "Then take me with you! For there is no other so blissful journey!" The youth was astonished. He saw that she meant it, and he took her for his companion then and for ever, and she gave him what she promised—even this, that he should be her succourer upon her dying day. He was afterwards known as "Ninnidh of the Clean Hand," and for this is it, says the quaint old chronicle, "that the companionship of the world's students is evermore with pride."

The other stories that come to mind are two, in one of which Bride possesses herself, as a child, of her father's sword, and puts it to peaceable use; and in the other she, following in greater footsteps before her, dared to advise that the precious possessions of the Church, even the sacred vestments of the abbot, which he had brought at great trouble from Rome, should be sold and used to relieve the misery of a wretched and stricken people. Which thing was done!

In her pure spirit and with her good common-sense may we still continue her works. Yours, &c.,

H. M. BUCKTON
(Author of "Eager Heart").

---

* To the list of names published in these columns, as signatory to the appeal for keeping this Day of Remembrance and Prayer all over the country on February 1st, have been added those of Canon H. Scott Holland, D.D., Principal Alexander Whyte, D.D., LL.D., Miss Lena Ashwell, the Rev. E. W. Lewis, the Rev. Hugh B. Chapman, the Rev. Henry Gow, Mr. Roger Clark, Miss Jane Walker, M.D., Mrs. Forbes Robertson, Mr. J. Forbes Robertson, the Rev. Claude Hinscliff, Miss Esther Carling, M.D.

THE FELLOWSHIP.

I enclose a small contribution to the Poster Fund, and I want so much to be a member of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship. I have read and enjoyed VOTES FOR WOMEN from its start, and I think it is even nicer now. With every best wish for the success of VOTES and the growth of the Fellowship. . . .

I like your paper much better now than I did before, firstly because it is independent, and secondly because we get more general news of the Movement.

DOES THE PUBLIC INCLUDE WOMEN?

Dear Editors,—The state of affairs described in a recent issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN by Mr. A. P. Spanton in his article on "A Public Right" certainly displays a great state of confusion as existent, but nevertheless one that might be greatly elucidated by a reference to the conditions under which the rules of procedure and allied matter of our law courts came to be established. For instance, in the period of English history before the time of the Tudors the great difficulty the governments of the day had to face was that of bringing wealthy or powerful offenders under the power of their justices. Of course, all those who at that time represented the forces of Progressivism supported the King with the greatest zeal. He was their only support against the all-powerful and tyrannous barons. Consequently nobody grumbled if the justices were strong enough to allow no one to enter their courts but whom they pleased. This practice had increased gradually in strength until at last it came to pass that no member of the aristocratic or higher ranks could overawe the execution of the law by pouring hordes of retainers into its courts. All that was good. But when the power of the courts, simultaneously with that of the kingship, became pre-eminent, affairs began to take another turn. The Crown began, as in the case of the Star Chamber, to make use of venal judges and packed juries, to inflict unjust and iniquitous fines on, and to oppress any who were obnoxious to them. The power of keeping their deliberations secret was naturally very convenient. And it was even still more natural that before long people began to see that the principle of freedom of access to a law court was one of the greatest value.

The long and more interesting struggle between kingship and parliament, with the result that most of the instruments of tyranny were quelled, took away men's interest in the question, and no one concerned himself further about it. But the matter itself was never decided. Consequently the judges sometimes reverted to the old practice, and sometimes to the newer and more enlightened. And then, being men, and in their omnipotency, deciding, as usual, all questions relating to the sex, they ordained that women should not hear this or hear that, and should be treated as, indeed, they were considered in the most ancient of English laws, merely as a man's personal and private goods and chattels.—Yours, &c.,

FREDERICK BROWNING.

With reference to the right of women to remain in court when a woman is being tried, which was questioned at the trial of Miss Billinghurst and Miss Gay on January 8, it is interesting to hear that at the Court of Common Council at the Guildhall last week Mr. Carl Hentschel, C.C., asked the Lord Mayor the following questions:—

Whether on the public trial of women for offences under the Post Office Act before the Recorder at the Central Criminal Court on January 8, 1913, all women were expressly excluded from the Court, including the public galleries and the body of the court, and who was responsible for such order?

What are the powers of the corporation over the judicial officer appointed by them?

Whether it is not the fact that women seeking admission were quite prepared to provide proper guarantees for the preservation of order?

And whether, having regard to the necessity of justice being publicly administered, any steps will be taken to protect the right of all sections of the public in this respect in future?

Further, Mr. Hentschel asked the Lord Mayor was he aware that, on an attempt being made to exclude women on a previous occasion, the Lord Chief Justice had stated that it was a public court, that they had a right to be present, and that the court was perfectly capable of protecting itself?

We understand that the Lord Mayor in his reply shielded himself behind the plea that the officers acted under instructions of the Commissioners of Justice.

THE MEN'S POLITICAL UNION

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Sirs,—The House of Commons, of which 393 members out of 670 were pledged to woman's suffrage, has met the women's demands by still further delay. The Government pledge has not been kept. An agitation, the like of which has not been seen in our lifetime, either for its proportions, its patience, its enthusiasm, or for the sacrifices it has called forth from women of all classes, has been met with a "non possumus" by the representatives of the men of the country.

It is now, surely, the duty of every man who sincerely desires the enfranchisement of women at once to step aside and to take his part with them in the big struggle that is ahead.

Will all who wish to do so kindly communicate with the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement, 13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.?—We are, sirs, yours, &c.,

H. W. NEVINSON (Chairman),
H. D. HARBEN,
D. CAMERON-SWAN,
H. J. GILLESPIE,
V. D. DUVAL (Hon. Sec.).

MISS KITTY MARION'S CASE

After serving her sentence of one month's imprisonment for militant action, Miss Kitty Marion was released from Holloway on January 17. She carried out the hunger-strike from Christmas Eve until her release. "When the tube was put up my nose," she says, "it twisted, and part of it came out of my mouth. The pain was so horrible, I felt as if my nose was being pulled off, and the doctor said: 'After all, it is only an indiarubber tube,' but to me it felt more like a crowbar. I was violently sick, and when the operation was over I cried with relief and pain."

An interesting article by Miss Marion on "Music Hall Artistes' Temptations" appeared in *The Awakener* for January 25.

SUFFRAGIST CHURCHWOMEN'S PROTEST

The Hon. Sec. asks us to state that she will be obliged if those friends who took forms for the purpose of obtaining signatures to the above protest will kindly return them without delay to 21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W., as the protest is now to be sent in.

IN THE PRESS

One of Tuesday evening's papers was advertised by a poster which asked: "Is Miss Christabel Pankhurst in London?"

It is more regrettable than surprising that the militant women have responded to Mr. Asquith's offer by a renewal of senseless disorder. Being what they are, it was only to be expected. . . . We very much regret to see that prominent Unionists have been induced to lend their countenance to Mr. Asquith's scheme. If, as nearly everyone is firmly convinced, it cannot be carried, they are only associating themselves in an insult which the women will neither forget nor forgive.—**Globe, Jan. 29.**

The Government have over-reached themselves, and have imperilled both the Franchise Bill and their own position in the country. They certainly cannot satisfy all the men and women who have put faith in their promises. They will probably end by mortifying and alienating most of them.—**Western Morning News.**

In any case the position of the Government is wretched indeed. If they have escaped from the immediate perils of the Suffrage dilemma, their lack of knowledge of the rules of the House will let loose upon them the fury of the militants and the tearful reproaches of the Women Liberals.—**Sheffield Daily Telegraph.**

This afternoon the Speaker dropped a bombshell into the suffragist camp. It was one of those kind of explosives which sting some and gravely injure others. The Government came within the first category and the suffragist the second. — **Western Daily Press.**

The militant suffragists seem to be determined to undo the effects of the brilliant victory which the cause of Women's Suffrage has won in the House of Commons.—**Daily Graphic.**

The white, green, and purple of the Suffragettes are to be seen everywhere just now. It is nearly five years since Mrs. Pethick Lawrence explained in a public speech why these colours were chosen. White stands for purity in private and public affairs; green is the traditional colour of hope; and purple typifies dignity and freedom.—**Pall Mall Gazette.**

After seeing in the paper a headline, "New Suffragan Bishop," the office boy expressed a hope that he would not preach in favour of more Pillar-box outrages.—**London Opinion.**

Three hundred Suffragists, we read, have just visited Drury Lane's pantomime, "The Sleeping Beauty." We suppose they wanted to "wake her up."—**Evening Standard.**

HOT DINNERS
SAVORY AND NUTRITIOUS
can be made ready in the home or workshop without preparation
In a Few Minutes
BY USING
'Pitman' Vegsal Soups.

All that is necessary is to make the soup according to directions (which is as simple as making a cup of tea), add your cold cooked foods—"leftovers"—if you like—and a steaming hot dish fit for a King awaits your pleasure.

Dr. George Black, of Torquay, speaks of them as—"The Perfection of Vegetable Soups, wholesome, tasty, invigorating."

MADE IN 12 VARIETIES:
Asparagus, Brown Haricot, Celery, Green Pea, Lentil, Mulligatawny, Mushroom, Nuto, Nuto Cream, Spinach, Nutmarto, Vigar.

Per 2 oz. tin, 3d., to make 1 pint soup; 1 doz. assorted box, 3/-; 1 lb. tins, 1/8, with full instructions.

Ask your Stores for them, or sample tin post free, 4d.

1 doz. box, 3s. 6d.; 2 boxes, 6/-, carriage paid from sole manufacturers.

"PITMAN" HEALTH FOOD CO.,
223, Aston Brook Street, Birmingham.
Full Catalogue, with Diet Guide and "Aids to a Simpler Diet," post free, two stamps.

ALFRED DAY,
Ladies' Tailor
All Garments made in own workrooms.

COAT
AND
SKIRT
MADE TO MEASURE FROM
£2 : 2 : 0

Serge Coat & Skirt... ...	2 2 0
Tweed Cloth or Linen ...	2 2 0
Flannel, Hopsacks, Suitings, &c. ...	2 12 6
Faced Cloth, Covert Coating	3 3 0
Full Length Coat	2 2 0

Patterns and Designs Post Free.

A special study made of fitting from pattern Bodices or Self-measurement Form.

CARRIAGE PAID TO ANY PART OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.
ALFRED DAY,
51 and 52, Park St., Regent's Park
(Gloucester Gate), London, N.W.

William CLARKE & SON,
341, GRAY'S INN ROAD, KING'S CROSS, W.C.
95, QUEEN'S ROAD, BAYSWATER, W.
COAL.

Silkstone	27/-	Roaster Nuts	23/6
Best Household ..	25/6	Large Kitchen ..	22/6
Special House.. ..	25/-	Stove Coal	21/6
Best Nuts	24/6	Anthracite Nuts ..	40/-

Coke, per Chaldron, 15/-.
Telephones: 3656, 1592 and 2718 North,
565 Paddington, &c.

VOTES FOR WOMEN AND A GOOD LAUNDRY.
Good Work and Good Wages.
THE
BEACONSFIELD LAUNDRY,
19., BEETHOVEN ST., KILBURN
HIGH CLASS WORK ONLY.
SEND A POST CARD FOR PRICE LIST.
NO HOSPITALS OR HOTEL CONTRACTS TAKEN

ISLINGTON DENTAL SURGERY 69, Upper St. London, N.
MR. CHODWICK BROWN, Dental Surgeon.
MR. FREDK. G. BOUCHER, Assist. Dental Surgeon.
Established 35 years.

Gas Administered daily, at 11 and 3, by a Qualified Medical Man. FEE, 7s. 6d.
A record of 30,000 successful cases. Nurse in attendance. Mechanical work in all its branches.

THE BEST ARTIFICIAL TEETH from 5s.

Send Postcard for Pamphlet. Tel. No. 6348 Central.
No Show-case at door.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

Single insertion, 24 words or less, 2s. 1d. per word for every additional word
Four insertions for the price of three.)

All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager. Votes for Women, *4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.*

WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

LONDON SOCIETY (N.U.W.S.S.).—Public Reception, Westminster Palace Hotel, Jan. 31, 3.30-6.15. Lady Frances Balfour, Sir Laurence Gomme, Mrs. Swanwick.

"QUI VIVE!"—Come to 8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge, February 4, 3 o'clock. Mrs. De Fonblanque, leader of the March, will speak.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE announce a Public Meeting at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Wednesday, February 5. Speakers: Mrs. Ackroyd (on the Poor Law, how it affects women) and Mr. George Lansbury (on Why the Working Women must be Organised). The chair will be taken by Miss Anna Munro at 3.30.

OXFORD. — MEN'S POLITICAL UNION.—A meeting will be held at the Corn Exchange, Tuesday, February 11, at 8.15 p.m. Chair: Mr. H. D. Harben. Speakers: Mr. George Lansbury, L.C.C., Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence. Tickets may be obtained at Mr. Giles, bookseller, Broad Street. Reserved, 2s. 6d.; unreserved 1s. and 6d.

BIRTHS

MACKENZIE - McMANUS.—On June 17, at 1, Green Edge, Beaumaris, Anglesey, to Marion Mackenzie, wife of James McManus, a daughter.

BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

ABSOLUTE Privacy, Quietude, and Refinement, no extras. At the Strand Imperial Hotel, opposite Gaiety Theatre, ladies will find the freshest, warmest, daintiest, cosiest quarters; sumptuous bedroom, with h. and c. water fitted; breakfast, bath, attendance, and lights from 5s. 6d.; en pension 9s.; special terms for long stay; finest English provisions.—Manageress. 4788 Gerrard.

BOARD - RESIDENCE for Students, visitors to London, &c.; moderate, comfortable, clean, central.—Miss Kilbey, 5, Guilford Street, Russell Square.

BOARD-RESIDENCE, superior, from 30s. Close Baker Street Underground and Tube. Bed and breakfast, 3s. 6d. per day. Telephone 4339 Paddington.—Mrs. Campbell, 5 and 7, York Street, Portman Square, W.

BOARD-RESIDENCE.—Close to Parliament Hill. Every home comfort; easy access to all parts of London, tube, rail, or car.—8, Boscastle Road, N.W.

BRIGHTON.—TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good Table. Congenial Society. Terms from 25s. —Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

CHARMOUTH (Dorset Coast).—Exceptionally pleasant winter cottage, high position, south aspect; apartments, paying guest, or would let furnished till Easter.—Miss Lamb, The Retreat.

FOLKESTONE.—"Trevarra," Bouverie Road, W. Board-residence, excellent position, close to sea, Leas, and theatre; separate tables; moderate terms; private apartments if required.—Miss Key (W.S.P.U.)

GUESTS received in Lady's Country House; good cooking, vegetarian if required; indoor sanitation; hot baths; home comforts; south aspect; bracing.—Box 266, Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court.

HYDE PARK.—Comfortable, Refined home, late dinner; telephone, baths, from 17s. 6d. to 25s.—Miss Simmons, 19, James Street, Westbourne Terrace.

LADY, in small Flat, near 'bus and Metropolitan, requires paying guest; terms moderate, references.—"H." 9a, Grove End Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

LONDON.—Carlton Private Hotel, 14, Craven Street, Charing Cross; room and breakfast, from 4s.; central; convenient. Tel: 219 Gerrard.

LONDON, W.C. (113, Gower Street).—Refined HOME (ladies). Bed, breakfast, dinner, and full board Sundays (cubicle), from 15s. 6d. Rooms, 19s. 6d. Full board, 17s. 6d. to 25s. Gentlemen from 19s. 6d.

PRIVATE HOTEL, for Ladies only; quiet and refined; 13, St. George's Square, Westminster; bedroom, breakfast, bath and attendance, from 4s. 6d.—Write or wire Miss Davies.

RESIDENTIAL Club for Ladies.—Cubicles from 18s 6d. per week with board; rooms 25s.; also by the day.—Mrs. Campbell-Wilkinson, 49, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, London, W.

SUFFRAGETTES, keep well and fit by spending your week-ends at Brighton. Comfortable Board-residence at Miss Turner (W.S.P.U.), Sea View, Victoria Road. Terms Moderate, Nat. Tel., 1702 Brighton.

TO BE LET OR SOLD.

FINSBURY PARK.—Apartments, unfurnished or furnished, use of sitting-room and board optional; close to Tubes; superior.—34, Somerfield Road, Finsbury Park.

FURNISHED.—To Let, for two or three months, bungalow in Garden City, Letchworth, 4 bedrooms, bathroom, dining, and sitting rooms, large verandah, studio in garden, 30s. week.—Apply by letter, Hillside, Norton, Letchworth.

GOLDER'S GREEN.—Sympathiser has charming house for sale, high position, adjoining Hampstead Garden Suburb; 4 bedrooms, 2 reception, large garden, price, including fittings, £470. —4, Hayes Crescent, Temple Fortune.

IN one of the healthiest and most beautiful Estates, on famous golf links. Picturesque and well-built houses to be let or sold. Prices from £350; rents from £32 p.a. Houses of any size to suit purchasers will be built on instalment system, under which repayments do not exceed rent. Gravel soil, main drainage and water, bracing air, golf club, residents' club, tennis, croquet, cricket, bowls, miniature rifle range, &c. 13½ miles from Bank; splendid service of trains for business men. Illustrated booklet post free. —Apply Estate Office, Gidea Park, Essex.

LARGE ROOM to Let, suitable for Meetings, At Homes, Dances, Lectures. Refreshments provided.—Apply Alan's Tea Rooms, 263, Oxford Street.

PROFESSIONAL & EDUCATIONAL

ADA MOORE gives Lessons in Singing and Voice Production; diction a speciality.—106, Beaufort Mansions, London, S.W. West End studio. Visits Brighton weekly.

ANSTEY PHYSICAL TRAINING COLLEGE, CHESTER ROAD, ERDINGTON.—The College offers a full professional training for girls seeking a useful and attractive calling. Swedish Educational Gymnastics, Folk Dances. Classical and Artistic Dancing. Swimming and Outdoor Games. Remedial Gymnastics and Massage.
Good Posts obtained after training.

ARTICLES and STORIES wanted for magazines and newspapers. Women's work in great demand. Unknown writers helped to earn money as free lance contributors. MSS. prepared for sale to editors. Write for free instructive booklet.—Director, L.C.S.J. Literary Agency, Argyle House, Farringdon Street, E.C.

GOD'S WORD TO WOMEN has never been a word of disapproval and suppression. The Bible encourages the development of woman and stands for her perfect equality with man, in spite of the teachings to the contrary. Do you wish to equip yourself for meeting the arguments of those who attempt, with sacrilegious hands, to throw the Bible in the way of woman's progress? Do you wish to know WHERE and HOW they mistranslate and misrepresent it? Send 7d. (15cts., American stamps) for *101 Questions Answered*, a Woman's Catechism, prepared purposely to solve your perplexities.—Katharine Bushnell, "Bernard Lodge," 10A, Drayton Park, Highbury, London, N.

LADIES Suffering from Neglected Education speedily benefit by my course of postal tuition. Writing, correspondence, correct speech.—Miss T., 31, Compton Road, Winchmore Hill.

LOVEGROVE'S DAIRY and POULTRY FARMS.—Practical training for home and Colonial farming. Short courses with lectures now beginning. Write prospectus.—Kate Le Lacheur, Checkendon, Reading.

MR. MABON'S MUSIC STUDIO, 50, St. George's Road, Charing Cross, Glasgow. Correspondence tuition in harmony, counterpoint, &c. Personal lessons in voice culture, singing, pianoforte.

MRS. MARY LAYTON, F.R.C.O. (Hon. Organist to the W.S.P.U.). Voice Culture for Singers and Speakers. Private Lessons in Singing. Singing Classes and Ladies' Choir. Please note change of address to "The Châlet," 2, Fulham Park Road. S.W.

MRS. MARY OATEN'S Dental Surgery, 10, Sydney Place, South Kensington, S.W. Telephone: Ken. 1084.—Artificial teeth at reasonable prices. Extractions absolutely painless. Gold fillings a specialty.

MOTOR-DRIVING and Mechanism.—Miss Addie Price personally instructs ladies in all branches; terms on application.—36, Long Acre. Phone 1642 Gerrard

THE TEMPLE SCHOOL OF SHORTHAND AND SECRETARIAL AND TYPEWRITING OFFICES.—Expert tuition at moderate fees. Thorough and practical training. Day and evening classes and postal work. Write for prospectus to the Secretary, 27, Chancery Lane, W.C.

TO SUFFRAGETTES. — Free Dental Advice and Artificial Teeth at hospital prices; recommended by members W.S.P.U.; absolutely no pain.—Mr. Medley, 39, Beauchamp Place, S.W. (near Harrod's).

TO SUFFRAGIST SPEAKERS.—Miss ROSA LEO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Production and Public Speaking to the W.S.P.U. Speakers' Class, requests those desirous of joining her private classes or taking private lessons to communicate with her by letter to 45, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W. Separate classes for men. Mr. Israel Zangwill writes:—"Thanks to your teachings, I spoke nearly an hour at the Albert Hall without weariness. . . . while my voice carried to every part of the hall."

WHAT TO DO WITH OUR GIRLS.—Train for dairy and poultry farming; a profitable occupation adaptable for home or colonies; send now for free booklet to—Mrs. Dutton, Springhall, Sawbridgeworth.

WHAT TO DO WITH OUR CHILDREN.—Home School Kindergarten; children received as boarders from three to seven years; an intermediate training for school life; toilets supervised, musical drill, songs, games, occupations, lessons.—Prospectus on application to Mrs. Bernard Mole, St. Mary's Nursery College, Hampstead.

BUSINESS, Etc.

ADVERTISEMENTS inserted in all PUBLICATIONS, HOME and COLONIAL, at lowest office list rates.—S. THROWER, ADVERTISING AGENT, 20, IMPERIAL BUILDINGS, LUDGATE CIRCUS, LONDON, E.C. Established at this office nearly 30 years. Phone: 562 Central.

DRESSMAKER, about to retire, will shortly have for disposal well-established Business in main road, Herne Hill, with excellent connections. Good premises at low rental. Purchaser could retain entire plant and stock, and services of staff.—Box No. 296, Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court.

IF You wish to Remove, Store, or Dispose of anything, send postcard or ring up Gerrard 9188 for The London Storage Co., Westwood House, 210, High Holborn, W.C., for price and advice, free of charge. Dry rooms, extensive warehouses.

SITUATIONS VACANT.

HOUSE-PARLOURMAID wanted for flat; three in family.—Apply Mrs. Martin, Lister Institute, Chelsea Gardens, S.W.

WANTED. — Lady Nurse-Companion, girl 10, boy 7, attending school morning; churchwoman, needlewoman; Suffragist preferred; salary, £24-£26.—Write Mrs. Cooper, 8, Warwick Avenue, Paddington.

SITUATIONS WANTED.

ELDERLY SUFFRAGETTE requires light employment, plain sewing, cooking, care of offices; thoroughly trustworthy.—Box 312, Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

GARDENING.

GARDENING for Health. Ladies received; charming country residence; elevated situation; open-air life; competent instruction; individual consideration.—Peake, Udimore, Rye.

DRESSMAKING, Etc.

ARTISTIC MILLINERY and DRESSMAKING.—Specialities: Light-weight Hats, Hand-embroidered Dresses, Evening Gowns. West End style. Mourning orders. Renovations.—Marcel, Broadway, Winchmore Hill, N.

MADAME DE VALLOISE, Court Milliner, 18, Berners Street, has opened a Renovation Department. Hats and Dresses remodelled to look like new, at reasonable charges.

MILLINERY. — Smart and Artistic Models at moderate prices; renovations, from 5s., a speciality.—Miss Angus, Robarts and Geen, 4, Conduit Street, W.

"Simplicity is Grace."
PHYLLIS SQUIRE,
CHILDREN'S ARTISTIC OUTFITTER,
17, Hanover Street, Hanover Square, London, W.
Models of Party Frocks and Cloaks, Coats and Skirts, School Frocks, Games-tunics and Djibbahs a special study.

PRETTY VELVETEEN FROCKS, dark purple or green, to own measures, 27s. 6d.—Madame Moore, 46, Pembridge Villas, W.

TAILOR-MADE COSTUMES. — Latest West End and Paris styles, at moderate prices. Highly recommended by members of W.S.P.U. Patterns sent on application.—H. Nelissen, Ladies' Tailor, 14, Great Titchfield Street, Oxford Street, W. (near Waring's).

LAUNDRY.

A CAREFUL, EXPERIENCED HAND LAUNDRESS can undertake Laundering of a family's linen; 9 years' reference.—Anna Jones, Kathleen Laundry, Palmerston Road, South Acton. Special arrangements for collecting country linen.

A LADY recommends good Laundress; shirts, nightdresses, 3d.; sheets, tablecloths, 2d., 3d.; dusters, towels, napkins, 9d. dozen; chemises and drawers, 1½d.; maids, 1s. 3d; linen returned Fridays.—The Hand Laundry, 33, Osborne Road, Acton.

OLD OAK FARM LAUNDRY, 3, Bloemfontein Avenue, Shepherd's Bush, W. Tel.: 494 Chiswick.

NEW UNSOLICITED TESTIMONIALS.

"Portman Square, March 14, 1912.
"The Baroness is very pleased with the way you are doing and getting up the linen."

"Kensington, October 14, 1912.
"Your work has given the greatest satisfaction."

"Eaton Terrace, S.W., September 22, 1912.
"Your laundry has always given satisfaction, and we are glad to continue to deal with it."

Originals forwarded if required.
Mrs. Purdy, M.W.S.P.U., Manageress.

ELECTROLYSIS, Etc.

ANTISEPTIC ELECTROLYSIS scientifically and effectually performed. It is the only *permanent* cure for Superfluous Hair. Highest medical references. Special terms to those engaged in teaching, clerical work, &c. Consultation free.—Miss Marion Lindsay, 35, Cambridge Place, Norfolk Square, W. Telephone: 3307 Paddington.

ELECTROLYSIS and Face Massage skilfully performed; also expert Lessons. Certificates given. Special terms to nurses.—Address, Miss Theakston, 54, Devonshire Street, Gt. Portland Street, W.

HAIR DESTROYER.—James' Depilatory instantly removes superfluous hairs from the face, neck, or arms, without injury to the skin. Of most chemists, or free from observation, post free on receipt of postal order for 1s. 3d., 2s. 9d., or 5s.—Mrs. V. James, 268, Caledonian Road, London, N.

MASSEUSE visits Patients for general Massage; putting on or reducing weight; face massage, &c.—Apply, Box 230, Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

JEWELLERY.

WHY Keep Useless Jewellery? The large London market enables Robinson Brothers, of 5, Hampstead Road, London, W., and 127, Fenchurch Street, E.C., to give the best prices for Gold, Silver, Platinum, Diamonds, Pearls, Emeralds, Silver Plate, Antiques, Old Teeth, &c., in any form, condition, or quantity; licensed valuers and appraisers. Telephone: 2036 North. All parcels offer or cash by return of post.

POULTRY AND PROVISIONS.

BEST Devonshire Clotted Cream, 2s. 6d., carriage paid, all the year round. Also Parma violets, 1s., 1s. 6d., &c., boxes.—Mrs. Gorle, Beaworthy, N. Devon.

FRESH FISH, DIRECT FROM THE STEAMER, sent off immediately after being landed; dressed for cooking, carriage paid; special terms to Schools, Convents, and Institutions. Choice parcels, value 2s. 6d., 3s., 4s., 5s., and upwards.—Write for circular to SECRETARY, ENTERPRISE FISHING CO. (DEPT. G), ABERDEEN.

FRESH FISH.—Direct from Steamer. Carriage paid; cleaned and prepared for cooking; send 1s. 6d. for 4lb choice parcel.—The Quality Fish Supply Co. (Dept. K), Aberdeen.

GIVE THE FISHERMAN A CHANCE!
FRESH FISH, 4lb, 1s. 6d.; 6lb, 2s.; 9lb., 2s. 6d.; cleansed; carriage paid; lists free.—The Fisherman's Syndicate, No. 5, Pontoon, Grimsby.

MRS. FURNEY, KILRANE, WEXFORD, supplies prime table poultry to private families, hotels, clubs. Numerous testimonials from London and country customers. Resident pupils taken on up-to-date fattening establishment and poultry farm; one mile from Rosslare Harbour; healthy locality; very moderate terms.

SUFFRAGIST FRUIT FARM, run by women for women.—Bottled fruit, Irwin's Genuine Scottish Raspberries, unrivalled for flavour and colour, selected fruit gathered direct into the bottle by cleanly, respectable women workers; absolutely free from chemical ingredients. Order through your grocer.—Wholesale Agent, Robert Jamieson and Co., 40, Shandwick Place, Edinburgh.

SUNBEAM TEA, 3lb for 6s. Finest Irish hams, 10½lb, 10s. 6d; half ham, 5s. 6d.; all post paid U.K.; trial solicited.—Robert Coulter, Sligo.

MISCELLANEOUS.

BLOUSES, BLOUSES, BLOUSES, BLOUSES.—Any number of Cast-off Blouses wanted. The extreme value remitted.—Miss Kate Cutler, 24, Sunninghill Road, St. John's, Lewisham.

BLUTHNER Upright Grand Piano, perfect condition and tone; exceptional bargain; only wants seeing.—Apply or call M. A. Jones, 11, Parkhurst Road, Holloway, London, N.

BONELESS CORSETS.—New invention, unbreakable. Lists free.—Write, Knitted Corset Co., Nottingham.

DRINK SALUTARIS. Health-giving Table Water. Distilled. Absolutely pure and free from all microbes; Aerated or Still. Unrivalled for gout and rheumatism. Ask your grocer or write Salutaris Company, 236, Fulham Road, London, S.W. (mentioning this advert.).

HAIR FALLING OFF.—Lady who lost nearly all hers, and has now strong, heavy growth, sends particulars to anyone enclosing stamped, addressed envelope.—Miss V. W. Field, Glendower, Shanklin.

REMNANTS SALE!—Genuine White Art Irish, suitable for making charming Teacloths, Traycloths, D'Oyleys, &c.; bundle of big pieces, only 2s. 6d., postage 4d. Sale Catalogue free. —Hutton's, 167, Larne, Ireland.

Six Months' Subscription, post free, 3s. 3d. (Foreign, 4s. 4d.).

"Votes for Women."

Published every Friday at 4/7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.
EDITED BY Mr. & Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

To

THE CIRCULATION MANAGER, "VOTES FOR WOMEN," 4/7, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET, E.C.

Please send each week for six months one copy of "VOTES FOR WOMEN," to

Name________________________________

Address________________________________

____

for which I enclose s. d.

Printed by Walbrook & Co., Ltd., 13, 14 & 15, Whitefriars Street, London, E.C., for the Proprietors of Votes for Women, and Published by them at 4 to 7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.